

Nonconformist.

THE DISSIDENCE OF DISSENT AND THE PROTESTANTISM OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION.

VOL. XXXVIII.—NEW SERIES, No. 1644.

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, MAY 23, 1877.

{ WITH { PRICE 5d.
{ SUPPLEMENT { POST-FREE, 51d.

CONTENTS.

ECCLIASTICAL AFFAIRS:	Irregular Evangelistic	
The Surprise on the	Agencies.....	530
Burials Bill.....	Hospital Sunday Fund	530
Aggressive Christian	The Proposed New	
Work.....	Bishoprics.....	530
Scottish Church Notes	Epitome of News.....	531
The Burials Bill in the	LEADING ARTICLES:	
Lords.....	Summary.....	533
The Recent Judgment	Marshall MacMahon,	
in the Folkestone	Dictator.....	533
Ritual Case.....	The County Franchise	534
The Disestablishment	Sketches from the Gallery	
Movement.....	of the House of Com-	
The New Bishop of	mons.....	534
Rochester.....	LITERATURE:	
Secessions to Rome.....	The Turks and their	
Voluntary Church Rate	Subjects.....	535
Bishop Baring on	"Shakespeare Diver-	
Church Prospects.....	sions".....	536
A Fervent Convert.....	Brief Notices.....	537
Religious and Denomi-	Births, Marriages, and	
national News.....	Deaths.....	538
CORRESPONDENCE:	Advertisements.....	538
The Eastern Policy of	SUPPLEMENT—	
the Government.....	The Peace Society.....	544
The Election for Mont-	George Street Chapel,	
gomeryshire Boroughs	Croydon.....	547

Ecclesiastical Affairs.

THE SURPRISE ON THE BURIALS BILL.

IN the debate on the second reading of the Government Burials Bill on the 26th of April, the Archbishop of Canterbury expressed a wish that this perplexing difficulty might be solved by such a *coup de grâce* as brought about the recognition of the principle of Jewish enfranchisement in the House of Lords. The desire of the Primate has been to a certain extent gratified. In that legislative assembly, which is always the last refuge of bigotry and exclusiveness, and where persistent resistance to every reform in Church and State is a traditional policy, the clerical monopoly of the parish churchyard has been virtually surrendered. The success is the more remarkable, inasmuch as it was gained in the teeth of the Government, whose paramount influence in the House of Lords has been heretofore unquestioned, and of a majority of the bishops, and by the combination of such incongruous elements as the Primate and one or two members of the Episcopal Bench, with the Liberal peers, and a small minority of Conservative lords. But for the unaccountable weakness of the Archbishop of York—who had beforehand accepted the principle of the amendment proposed by Lord Harrowby, and who absented himself from the test division—that resolution would have been carried by a majority of one. A vote more or less is not, however, of material consequence in the final result. The "tie" of Thursday night is, under the circumstances, equivalent to a majority in favour of the principle persistently advocated by Mr. Osborne Morgan, backed by the entire Liberal party and the Nonconformist bodies.

The incidents of Thursday night's debate were altogether unique. Before it began, the Government, profoundly discouraged by the tone of the preceding debate, had announced their intention of withdrawing the notorious 74th Clause; thus formally abandoning all pretence of trying to redress the chief grievance which was the ground of legislation. Except for sanitary objects, the parish churchyards were thus taken clean out of the bill, and by this act the Government proclaimed their continued opposition to any compromise. At this juncture the Archbishop of Canterbury came forward with praiseworthy courage and unusual decision to intimate that the time for a settlement of the question had arrived. What the Cabinet,

paralysed by internal differences and hampered by obligations to its clerical allies throughout the country, could not do, the Primate accomplished. In the preliminary discussion, his grace did not pretend that the concession demanded was "desirable in the abstract"; but it was "inevitable," and should be made "with a good grace"; for "it would be dangerous to the Church of England to keep the question open"; and, added the archbishop, with that prudent forecast which is his characteristic, "we might be defeated at a general election." The Archbishop of York endorsed this appeal with equally strong arguments in favour of an immediate settlement, and of Lord Harrowby's amendment, though, as we have said, he did not afterwards sustain it by his vote. Against this weight of authority, the Bishop of Peterborough, with all his power of eloquence and brilliant persiflage, urged that the proposal would settle nothing and unsettle everything—giving the solid contents of the oyster to the Dissenters, and with fatherly kindness and grave dignity handing the shells to the Churchmen. Uninfluenced by the appeals of the heads of the Church, the Duke of Richmond announced that the Government would offer a decided opposition to the proposed concessions.

After this suggestive rehearsal, the House went into committee, and passed seventy-three clauses of the bill as fast as they could be read. Upon the importance of many of these clauses as affecting the rights of Nonconformists we have more than once dilated. That they were not then challenged may be explained by the fact that the 74th clause was the essence of the bill, and that if that should be amended or superseded by something more comprehensive, the elaborate superstructure would tumble to the ground. Then began the tug of war. An amendment proposed by the Archbishop of Canterbury was, after much discussion, divided into two. The first part, legalising the reading of the Church Burial Service over unbaptized children, was carried unanimously. The second amendment, allowing at the request of the relatives the use of an alternative service approved by the bishop, in cases where the authorised service might be objected to, was opposed by the Duke of Richmond as forming part of the scheme of compromise, and carried against the Government by a majority of five (65 to 60). Thus far, then, the elaborate bill of the Government was in a shaky condition, though not actually compromised. The clerical grievance had been removed, but the parson's monopoly of the churchyard was as yet untouched. Whether the regular service or an alternative service should be used, he was still the only minister authorised to officiate.

The real struggle took place on the amendment proposed by the Earl of Harrowby in co-operation with Earl Granville, the main object of which is to allow, with certain restrictions and safeguards, other persons than the clergy to officiate in the parish churchyard, and other funeral services than that of the Established Church. This compromise was resolutely opposed by the Government, and the division led to a tie—the numbers being 102 on each side. By the rules of the House of Lords the amendment fell to the ground, and the bill has passed through committee without any 74th clause, and remains to be considered after

the House has reassembled on the 4th of June.

As the bill is not to be reported till so distant a period as the 18th of June, the Government have ample time for deciding what course they shall now pursue. By accepting the compromise, which must now be regarded as the minimum of concession, they could withdraw their opposition to the reintroduction of Lord Harrowby's proposed 74th clause, which would then be passed with only a feeble protest. It is, however, doubtful whether, even in that event, the present bill could proceed. That measure was drawn up to suit entirely different circumstances. Many of the clauses which were framed with the view of creating new and superfluous burial grounds and new burial authorities, would become *ipso facto* obsolete, and an entirely new bill to carry out the wishes of the Archbishop and the Liberal peers would be necessary. The Government have to choose the alternative of continuing a resistance which cannot be much further prolonged, or of availing themselves of the golden opportunity to close a bitter and dangerous controversy with the unpalatable admission that they have sustained a signal defeat. If the *Globe* reports aright, they have chosen the former, and will altogether withdraw the bill.

Seeing, however, that a settlement cannot now be long delayed, it is important that Mr. Osborne Morgan and his supporters in and out of Parliament should carefully examine Lord Harrowby's clause, which comes before them endorsed by the two archbishops, Earl Granville, and the whole body of Liberal peers. Its claims upon their acceptance are easily stated. It would legalise the burial in the parish churchyard of any person who has the right of interment in any parish "with such Christian and orderly religious services at the grave" as the relatives may think fit, "or without any religious service, due notice being given to the incumbent." Now, in the first place, it is to be remarked that the right to a separate service is absolutely conceded, and is not dependent on the will of the incumbent, whose monopoly is abrogated; in the second place, that no restriction is placed upon the person officiating, who may therefore be either a minister or a layman; and, in the third, that a wide range is allowed as to the nature of the service. These concessions are of very great importance, and embody Lord Shaftesbury's proposal in a more acceptable form.

The clause, however, contains some perfectly unnecessary restrictions, and some not unreasonable safeguards. We quote the latter section of it:—

If any person shall in any churchyard use any observance or ceremony or deliver any address not permitted by this Act, or otherwise, or by any lawful authority, or be guilty of any disorderly conduct, or conduct calculated to provoke a breach of the peace, or shall, under colour of any religious observance or otherwise in any churchyard wilfully endeavour to bring into contempt or obloquy the Christian religion, or the belief or worship of any Church or denomination of Christians, or the ministers or any minister of any such Church or denomination, he shall be guilty of a misdemeanour.

The closing portion of this proviso, even if it may appear to many superfluous, is not obnoxious to grave objection. Every reasonable man must admit that religious controversy is altogether unbecoming before the open grave. In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred it would not be thought of. The worst that can be said of the safeguard is that it might become in the hands of fanatical clergymen a device for

ensnaring or intimidating unwary Nonconformists. As to the former portion of the sub-clause, its interpretation is somewhat obscure. According to the Duke of Richmond, Secularists would have the right under it to make use of their own "service," and Lord Selborne rather evades the point when he replies that Secularists, not believing in religion, use no burial-service. The words used do not appear absolutely to forbid an address at the grave, but "any address not permitted by this Act"—that is, we suppose, which is not "Christian" and "religious." But adopting the construction of Lord Selborne, who probably put the clause into its present shape, the form of words used does prohibit Secularist addresses, and does not meet the case of the Jews.

While cheerfully recognising the greatness of the concession that has been made by Lord Harrowby and the Primate and his friends, and the manifest desire to avoid the imposition of worrying restrictions in respect to the form of religious services, we are sorry that they should have thought it expedient to yield to narrow prejudices and discreditable alarms. The perfectly equitable application of a sound principle is spoilt by narrow restrictions. Why should freedom as to burial rites in National Churches be restricted to those who call themselves Christians, when the views of all citizens who are not Christians are, while living, tolerated by law? Do such offensive scenes as the Bishop of Peterborough, Mr. Beresford Hope, and other imaginative and ingenious bigots conjure up, ever occur in the cemeteries connected with our large towns where the population is dense and religious beliefs diverse? If not, are they likely to be enacted in the village churchyard—in districts with a sparse population, and where, with rare exceptions, Secularism is unknown? Lord Harrowby, by proposing to legislate against an imaginary evil, greatly impairs the grace of an act of conciliation. It is the fly in the pot of ointment.

In such a case as this, when a pretracted and bitter controversy is drawing near its close, the supreme object of a national Legislature should be to effect a settlement on national grounds. We have no particular objection to regard as a concession what we have claimed as a right, but we deplore that it should be founded on anything like a sectarian basis. Perhaps a little more discussion, even in the House of Lords, may convince nervous advocates and opponents of Lord Harrowby's amendment that their fears as to churchyard scandals are absolutely imaginary, and that the restrictions which express those fears are entirely superfluous. If, however, as is still possible, this grand opportunity of settling the burials question is in some shape seized, it is to be hoped that the House of Commons, as representing persons of every creed, will fearlessly recognise an equitable principle, and give to any measure based upon the amendment referred to the requisite symmetry and completeness, by providing that the civil right of interment in the national parochial churchyard shall carry with it the freedom of being buried with such rites as are compatible with decency and order. That done, we should cordially rejoice in the satisfactory removal of a long-standing grievance, without the feeling that the concession had lost any value by the niggardly spirit in which it was granted.

AGGRESSIVE CHRISTIAN WORK.

THE Congregational Union was usefully employed during the closing hours of its recent session in discussing the practical question—how can the aggressive work of Congregational churches be carried on with greater energy and success? So far as the papers which embodied the subject are concerned, the question was not very satisfactorily answered, partly because Mr. Macfadyen's was of a general and introductory kind; while Mr. Foster's was devoted to a particular point, which was comparatively neglected amid details of an altogether different character. Nevertheless, the papers, *plus* the discussion which followed, covered a good deal

of ground, elicited some valuable information, and were characterised by an excellent spirit.

We are quite in accord with Mr. Macfadyen in the assertion that "there is need of energetic and systematic aggression in the rural districts of the country," and recognise the wisdom of the two positions on which he laid great stress, viz., that, while on the one hand we are not justified in forcing ourselves everywhere, and, where the ground is already occupied by others, we may, and ought to leave it to them; on the other hand, we must be satisfied that the occupation is real, and not nominal. We concur also in the remark of Mr. Clifford, whom he approvingly quoted, that the village churches "feed the fires of loyalty to Christ, maintain the rights of conscience, build up invisible but real barriers against enervating tyrannies and degrading superstitions, and, in many cases, keep village life from becoming a monotonous and disgusting corruption." But the problem which has not yet been solved—at least on any considerable scale—is how these "small republics" are to be kept alive and vigorous amid the depressing circumstances in which they exist—weakened as they are both by the repressive influences of the Establishment and the magnetic attractions of the great towns. While there are hundreds of villages in which Nonconformist aggression is absolutely needful for the spiritual enlightenment of the people, there are as many more in which the fire already kindled is in danger of being extinguished; so that vigorous efforts are needful as much for retaining the old as for winning new territory. No doubt there are plans conceivable by which both sets of difficulties might be gradually overcome; but the case is not one which admits of long delay, and while large finance schemes are debated and elaborated, we must be content to proceed tentatively and unambitiously, but with a degree of earnestness and of practical wisdom which will make small resources powerful, and the weak and despised things of the world what they have often already been—means of effecting astonishing spiritual results.

It may be long before it will be possible to amalgamate now weak and isolated village churches; but there is nothing to prevent the leaders of Nonconformity resolutely discouraging all attempts to form new churches, either where they would be superfluous, because of existing religious communities, or where it is impossible for them to lead other than a languishing and precarious existence. It does not follow that nothing can be done in such cases; for, apart from ecclesiastical organisations, there is room for evangelistic work exceeding in energy and fervour anything that has yet been attempted. There may be a preaching-station where there cannot be a church; and, in many cases, there may be preaching where there is no village chapel, and no village minister for miles around. The "regular means of grace," and a settled order of religious observances are good in themselves, but they sometimes are but synonyms for stagnation and lifelessness. It is life and light, and the energy which flows as a powerful stream from hearts filled with love for human souls, which tens of thousands of our villagers need now, as they have needed for many a bygone year. For this there is needed, not so much elaborate and costly machinery, as men—men moved by an apostolic spirit, and full of evangelistic zeal. Why should there not be preaching crusades, in which the best men of the towns—whether ministers or laymen—should for a time throw all their energies, as well as more sustained agencies of the like kind, which would have in view, not the founding of a new "cause," or the extension of "our denomination," or an addition to chapel and ministerial lists, but simply the spiritual awakening and culture of human minds? The modes of doing this might be various, and would, indeed, be the better for being various. The Rev. H. Tarrant asked, at the Union meeting, "May we not set apart a body of preaching evangelists—if not in every county, yet three or four for one entire community? Already

the Church of England has a band of these men. They go to a town and concentrate there for ten days sixty men of great preaching power. And these men betake themselves to Primitive Methodist ways; they go to the slums and beseech the people to come out and hear the Gospel; they go into the workshops and preach in the dinner-hour to working men. They are holding "most successful missions," and, he added, that the Methodists are beginning to adopt a similar method. Now, if such efforts are needed in the towns, how much more necessary are they in many of the villages, where ignorance and sluggishness reign supreme! There, at least, it cannot be alleged that they would seem to disparage the ordinary means of Christian teaching, and the stolidity of rural life would effectually counter-balance tendencies to fanatical excess.

Work of this kind would, of necessity, be to a great extent pioneering work, and would not lessen in any degree the duty of Christian churches in towns to regard themselves as centres, from which there should steadily radiate light and heat through the parishes all around them. The statements made at the Congregational Union in regard to the preaching stations supplied by the Congregational Church at Guildford, are deserving of careful consideration; since there is nothing in the Guildford method which cannot be successfully imitated elsewhere. These stations possess some of the characteristics of churches, without being distinct communities; there being bodies of communicants, who sustain certain relations to the Guildford Church, instead of maintaining an independent and struggling existence. We believe that, at Huntingdon, and some other places, the same plan, or a modification of it, is adopted, and the result is that, instead of there being a number of small communities having the name of Independent churches, but half-dead from poverty and weakness, and presided over by wretchedly ill-paid ministers, there are religious bodies which, however small, are instinct with the life and hope which come of the union of many hands and hearts in a great common cause. Whatever may be the ultimate outcome of pending deliberations in regard to Christian work in the villages, there ought to be an immediate stop put to the multiplication of feeble churches and of underpaid ministers, combined with a recourse to other means which will better accomplish the objects aimed at by such ineffectual agencies.

We think that until the Churches themselves undertake the aggressive work which confessedly needs to be done, it is of little use, and not altogether gracious, to complain of the action of "irregular" and "unauthorised" agencies. Some of the proceedings of "the evangelists with the remarkable designations" and "the converted clowns and fiddlers" with whom Mr. Foster so severely dealt in his clever paper, are not at all to our taste, and, no doubt, some of those who support them act in a very questionable spirit. But it behoves Nonconformists to talk circumspectly when they denounce "unauthorised teachers" and "disorderly" Christian workers, and insist on the necessity for Church authority in the conduct of evangelistic enterprises. As Mr. Foster himself says, the true remedy for the evils he describes is "to occupy the field"—to awaken the Churches, and to secure their thorough co-operation for Christian work, and till that be done it will be well to deal indulgently with those who supply, however imperfectly, the Church's lack of service, and who do what, but for their "unauthorised" and "irregular" efforts, would not be done at all.

SCOTTISH CHURCH NOTES.

(From our own Correspondent.)

The whole of last week was spent by the United Presbyterians in the conduct of their Synodal business, and the greater part of the present week also will, I believe, be similarly occupied. A church is not a good place for a consultative assembly, and many complaints have been made about this by those who have been attending the debates. But in spite of all the drawbacks, there

have been immense gatherings day by day, and I fancy I am safe in saying that the U. P. Church was never in better heart, or was more possessed by a high enthusiasm, than it has shown itself to be during this year. It is less in bulk than it was, for in the interest of union it consented twelve months ago to the excision of its English branch, numbering nearly one hundred congregations, but it has already begun to recruit its strength on this side the border by the planting of fresh churches, and in so far as income is concerned, the increased liberality of its Scottish members has made the deficiency much less than it might have been. Fifty thousand pounds were contributed two years ago by the English congregations to the general funds, but the accounts just published do not show a deficiency to that amount, but only to the extent of 34 000/.

What I specially admire, however, in this Church is its devotion to missions. In the *Life of Dr. Robert Buchanan*, just published, the paradoxical statement is made that, "in the interest of the conversion of the world, the Free Church could not afford to reconnect itself with the State." No one can read the history of missionary work in the United Presbyterian Church without seeing a striking confirmation of the truth of that remark. Account for it how you will, it is an undeniable fact that the Christians who have most done for them do least for others. The part taken by the Established Church in the great business of Christianising the world is absolutely insignificant as compared with the part taken by the Nonconformist churches in that connection. The largest place of meeting in Glasgow is the Kibble Crystal Palace. It seats, I believe, some 5,000 people, and that place was crowded to the ceiling on the occasion of the annual United Presbyterian Missionary Meetings. Among the speakers was the venerable African missionary Moffat, and the collection at the door amounted to over 900/. I am an outsider, and therefore can speak with candour about this body—and I cannot refrain from expressing my admiration for the generous and unselfish interest taken by it in the extension of Christ's kingdom into the regions beyond. The Establishment is very busy in its own way, and very liberal in some respects, but its chief concern is about its own homestead. And one is always suspicious of that charity which not only begins at home but stays there. A grand scheme has been set on foot for the building of seven new churches—in *Edinburgh* of all places—which in most parts is already over-churchd. One would have better hopes for the Established Church, if it thought less of strengthening its political position and more of the spread of the Gospel through the world.

The disestablishment question came on in the Synod rather late in the week, and on the day succeeding an exhausting debate about the revision of the standards. On these accounts, and also because unanimity was known to exist, the attendance of members was not so great as might otherwise have been. But the general public came out in force; and Dr. Hutton's report was received with due enthusiasm. Various other meetings on the same subject were held contemporaneously in Glasgow, and there can be no doubt that the cause has received a decided impulse. One man in particular has been brought distinctly to the front, from whose energy not a little may be expected. I refer to Mr. Middleton, of Hillfoot. He took the lead as a layman in making arrangements for the Synod meeting in Glasgow (it usually assembles in Edinburgh), and all through the seditious he bore himself prominently and well. It has been rather a characteristic of the United Presbyterian Church hitherto that its laymen have kept in the background at the meetings of its supreme court; in this respect differing widely from the Free Church, in whose Assemblies the lay element has always been remarkably prominent. But the times are obviously changing, and if I am not mistaken we shall hear now a good deal of men who are not clerical taking a more influential place in the direction of ecclesiastical affairs.

The debate about the Standards did not bring much glory to the young men who are given to change. Mr. Macrae and Mr. Ferguson have both of them talent, but they are not overburdened with that useful quality, common-sense, and they trod on the corny toes of their neighbours with a recklessness which issued only in their own discomfiture. The two theologians of the Church—Drs. Harper and Cairns—took the matter in hand, and their motion was carried by acclamation. The right of the Church to revise its confession was recognised, and a committee appointed to sit on the

whole subject, but the conduct of those men was smartly condemned who go up and down the country decrying the Standards they have subscribed, and insinuating that neither they nor any others believe in them.

THE BURIALS BILL IN THE LORDS.

In the House of Lords on Thursday Earl Granville presented petitions against the Government Burials Bill from Protestant Nonconformists in the connexion established by the Rev. John Wesley; from the district of Doncaster, Northampton, Leeds, Newport (Monmouth), Kendal, Northern Division of London, Southern Division of London, Preston, Gatehead, West Bromwich, Salisbury, Leicester, West Hartlepool, Newbury, Bradford, Llanelli, Ilfracombe, Tunstall, Penzance, Midsomer Norton, Driffield, Norwich, and Margate; from the Glamorganshire Welsh Baptist Association (consisting of 157 churches, 22,932 communicants, 40,536 non-communicants, 103 ministers, 86 lay-preachers, 173 Sunday-schools, 23,602 Sunday-school teachers, and 2,598 school teachers); the Manchester District Unitarian Association; 26 ministers and nearly 5,000 members of the United Methodist Free Churches, Bristol; the Nonconformists of Elloughton; the Liberal Club of Prestwich; Dissenters of Craven-hill, Paddington, Bath, and Hull; Associated Churches in Leeds; Wesleyan Methodists, Tunstall; Bradford Liberal Electoral Association; members of various denominations of Rhyl, South Kaye, Hornsea, Howden, Sibley, and Leicester; Leeds Nonconformist Union; Free Church Provincial Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale; also from public meetings at Sheffield, Stockport, and Wakefield; the Unitarian Congregation of Lewin's Mead, Bristol; Thurmaston (2); the Sheffield Nonconformist Committee; Ibbotck, Higglescote, and Hinckley. The noble earl said that these were in addition to the sixty petitions he presented on the second reading, and in addition to resolutions passed at meetings, which could not formally be laid before the House. Among the petitions presented were some signed by all the ministers, as he was informed, of the Wesleyan Connexion.

On the motion that the Burials Bill be considered in committee, Lord REDDALE said the right to be buried in the churchyard was not an absolute right, but a conditional right, and that the burial-ground was not the property of the parish, but the property of the Church. The demand now made on behalf of the Dissenters involved within itself the right of Dissenters to perform the burial service, the service of matrimony, the service of baptism, and the ordinary services of Dissenters in the parish church. He said, therefore, that the demand was a monstrous one. To show that he took no extravagant view as to the demands of the Dissenters, he begged to call their lordships' attention to this passage from a speech reported to have been made on April 18 by Mr. R. W. Dale, one of the accredited Liberatorist leaders at a meeting held in Birmingham. It was in these terms:—

Nonconformists had not concealed what their real intentions were. What they were going in for was complete religious equality in life as well as in death; and as they asserted that the graveyards belonged to the parish, so they asserted that the church belonged to the parish. They did not intend to disguise how far their principles carried them.

It was clear that this movement concerning the churchyards was a purely political movement. It had been got up to promote political excitement. He did not believe there was a bit of conscience about it.

The Archbishop of CANTERBURY said his opinion was that the time had come when, for the sake of the interests of the Church of England, this matter should be settled, and the 74th clause seemed, with some modifications, to afford the means of obtaining something approaching to a satisfactory settlement, but he understood that clause was likely to disappear from the bill. He thought it would be a great mistake to withdraw the clause. Though if the clergy were polled on the subject he believed the opinion of a large majority would be found opposed to any compromise on this question, yet he ventured also to say that a large and influential minority of them were of opinion that it would be a dangerous matter to delay the settlement of this question. (Applause.)

The Bishop of PETERBOROUGH felt it was important that this miserable controversy which was being waged over open graves should be terminated for the sake of the Church, and even of Christianity. It must be settled by a compromise which would be satisfactory and lasting, but he did not regard the amendments given notice of by the two most reverend prelates as either satisfactory or likely to be permanent, and the clergy also believed that if they gave up the churchyards on the principle embodied in Lord Granville's amendment, they would be giving up the Church itself. At considerable length the Bishop of Peterborough proceeded to criticise and condemn the amendment of which Lord Granville had given notice, maintaining that there was nothing in it to prevent

an infidel service being performed in the churchyard, and the scandals and dangers which might arise would be very great.

I would most thankfully accept any service which had previously obtained the permission and licence of the incumbent. This is the only way in which you can secure a Christian service, because the safeguards held out to us in these amendments are a mere paper fence of no greater value than the paper on which the bill itself is printed. We hear of a prepared service, but we cannot have a better than that in the Prayer-book. The national clergy are the natural custodians of the national graveyards, and I would allow the Dissenters to use any service of which they approved with an appeal to the bishop if you please. This would be a real concession. It is one that has worked well for forty years in Ireland—a country in which, as your lordships are aware, political and religious strife has never run quite so high as it does just now in England. (Laughter and cheers.) But Lord Plunkett's Burial Act has shown that it is quite possible to surmount the difficulty without strife and without scandal. There is no law now in England to prevent any Dissenting minister or layman from holding such a service in the parish churchyard with the consent of the incumbent. There may be an ecclesiastical law against it; but I have told the clergy of my diocese that there is no danger of being prosecuted, and that no clergyman in my diocese shall ever be prosecuted with my consent for such a concession. This, I think, will show noble lords opposite that I am earnest in my desire to settle this question in a reasonable way. (Cheers.) If, however, it comes to this, that the two parties can come to no agreement—if the Churchman will not give you religious equality, and the Dissenter says, "I will take nothing short of it," then the best remedy is that which is found in the bill, which says if you cannot agree about the churchyard, we will find you a place where, without scandal, you may agree.

Earl GRANVILLE: In what clause?

The Bishop of PETERBOROUGH: The bill without the 74th clause. It then becomes a sanitary bill pure and simple. It says to the disputants, if you cannot agree here—and this is an unseemly place for strife—we will find you some place where you can agree. We will ask the Churchmen to give up the churchyards, and we will find new burial-places in which we may together lay our dead in peace, and whereby we may find a quiet and really peaceful and lasting settlement of the question. My nostrum may be as wrong as those of others, but I felt bound to submit it to your lordships. But I feel that either this plan of mine or the plan of the Government would be infinitely preferable to either that of the most reverend prelates or that of the noble earl, which would settle nothing and unsettle everything. (Loud cheers.)

The Archbishop of YORK said that the right rev. prelate shadowed forth his plan. Like the rest of them he saw something must be done; he, too, would admit the Dissenter, and be there with him; the Dissenter must come with his licence, and he must authorise the service.

The Bishop of PETERBOROUGH: No; authorise the man, not the service.

The Archbishop of YORK objected to authorise either the man or the service.

I adhere to the burial service of the Church for Churchmen; but I am not going to undertake to revise the service of the Dissenter; and the only sound basis on which to settle the question is to give a concession, and to leave the persons concerned to exercise it. I dare say the effect of the course taken by the Government will be to place us in a somewhat invidious position. We are, in fact, left to originate a part of this bill; but we merely wish to share with the Government the responsibility of settling the question, and we do not desire to act in a spirit hostile to them. The amendments proposed would leave the bill incomplete, as it would be unwise and unjust to the ratepayers to apply its provisions in places where no grievance exists. I do venture to hope that the Government will not lose sight of this question. This is a very important issue we have before us. An appeal is made to the clergy to extend to others the same toleration they would wish to have accorded to them in a foreign country. The appeal was not made too soon or out of time, for there can be no doubt that the public opinion of this country is ripening fast, and in two or three years the question is sure to be settled. Is there any harm in our endeavouring to settle it now, while there is time to arrange it, knowing as we do that, if we do not settle it, another kind of settlement must shortly come? Allusion has been made to the fact that two great organisations, one representing the Low-Church party and the other the High-Church party, have pronounced in favour of a settlement of this question, and they would not have adopted that course unless they had fully understood the signs of the times. So long as we resist this measure we shall consolidate the ranks of those who are opposed to the Church, and we shall deprive them of a cry by coming to a settlement. I implore the Government not to neglect these warnings, but to take the matter in hand, and, in conjunction with us who are willing to take part of the responsibility, to come to some settlement of this question.

Earl GRANVILLE said that he preferred the spirit of the two archbishops to that of the Bishop of Peterborough. They wished to see the clergy acting with toleration and political wisdom; he thought they should drive the hardest possible bargain with Dissenters. (Hear, hear.) What was the compromise supported by the Bishop of Peterborough? Why, that this was to be simply a permissive measure and that they were to give leave to do what they had been told could be done now by the permission of the clergyman. He did not believe that forty peers could be found to support such a Parliamentary compromise as that. For his part he believed the safeguards he proposed to be quite efficient, and as regarded the argument that the amendment he proposed would fill the churchyards with lawsuits, that argument applied to every preventive law to which a penalty was attached.

He did not wish to go into the general argument. Of course the Government would do what they deemed best, but after the statement of the most rev. prelate he thought that it would be convenient to state what course he intended to pursue, and it was to abandon the amendment of which he had given notice. When he first gave notice of his resolutions he was urged to put them into the shape of a clause, and acting upon excellent advice, he did so. Subsequently the Earl of Shaftesbury had given notice of a most conciliatory amendment, and afterwards the Earl of Harrowby gave notice of an amendment which very much carried out the principles of his resolution, and at a very late period the noble duke gave notice that he would omit the seventy-fourth clause. That changed the whole matter at once, and he therefore gave notice of verbal amendments to adapt his resolution to those changed circumstances, and he had to consider the course he should pursue. The conclusion he had come to was that the best course would be to abandon his resolution, looking to the fact that Lord Shaftesbury could get no support to his, and to support that of Lord Harrowby, who had, he believed, the support of a good many peers sitting on that side of the House, and many members of the Episcopal bench. Occupying the position he did many noble peers opposite would not support him who would not hesitate to support the noble earl, and, believing that the time had come to settle the question, which could only be settled by a compromise, he should abandon his own amendment, and give his hearty support, speaking for himself and those around him, to the amendment of the noble earl. (Hear, hear.)

The Duke of RICHMOND and GORDON might say, taking a hint from a remark made in another place, that the Government had a right to manage their own business—(laughter)—and he might add they were quite capable of doing it. (Laughter.) It was the intention of the Government to offer a decided opposition to the clauses proposed by the most rev. prelates, and that of Lord Harrowby. (Hear, hear.)

Lord TRYNHAM, speaking as a Nonconformist, claimed the fullest freedom for the Dissenters to bury their dead in the churchyard with their own rites.

The House then resolved into committee, and all the clauses up to Clause 13 were rapidly run through, a few verbal amendments only being proposed.

On Clause 73 the Archbishop of CANTERBURY rose to move the following amendment:—

In cases where the Burial Service of the Church of England cannot lawfully be used, but where it shall appear to the incumbent or curate in charge desirable to use some religious service, and the person having charge of the interment shall desire the same, it shall be lawful for the minister, if he shall think fit, to use any service authorised by the bishop, provided that nothing except hymns shall be introduced into such service which does not form part of the Holy Scriptures or of the Book of Common Prayer, for such cases; provided that notice shall be sent to the bishop within seven days of any such use of the said service by the person using the same. In cases where the Burial Service of the Church of England, might lawfully be used, but where the person having charge of the interment shall request that the said service authorised by the bishop as aforesaid shall be used instead of the Burial Service of the Church of England, the minister shall not be subject to any penalty for omitting to use the service of the Church of England and for using the said authorised service in lieu thereof, provided that in every such case he shall report the facts of the case to the bishop within seven days, and provided that the bishop shall thereupon approve the said omission and substitution in writing under his hand.

He said that there might be most admirable reasons for the withdrawal of the seventy-fourth clause and all that was connected with it, but the House was entitled to hear what those reasons were. (Hear, hear.) One of them, he supposed, was that the Dissenters were not satisfied with the clause because it gave them nothing but a silent funeral; and he could imagine that the Government might think that, as the Dissenters had rejected the attempted concession, the best thing to be done was to conciliate no one. (Hear, hear.) He considered that the innocent clause he had proposed, even though, if it stood by itself, it might not satisfy the Dissenters, was, at all events, a move in the right direction. It would enable a clergyman who was at present prohibited from reading the service over his Dissenting brethren to use a decent service such as many of them would be willing to accept. The clause had not only the sanction of his brother archbishop, but of the Ritual Commission. He believed his proposal would go a considerable way to heal the bitterness at present existing. Therefore he trusted that the hope of having the question settled would not be frustrated, and that their lordships would not merely resolve themselves into a sanitary commission to consider the bill. (Hear, hear.)

Lord MIDLETON, as a loyal supporter of the Ministry, earnestly hoped the present opportunity to set this miserable question for ever at rest would not be lost. (Hear.)

The Bishop of SALISBURY said his reason for supporting this clause was that death, burial, the resurrection, and the judgment were matters of the most serious import, and he could not bear to think that some words of sacred truth should not be used at the burial of every one, so as to bring the sacredness of the occasion before the minds of the survivors.

The Duke of RICHMOND very much regretted to hear the most rev. prelate, before the bill went into committee, shadow forth the effect upon the country at a general election if this question were not brought to a settlement. He was astonished and grieved, considering the position which the most rev. prelate occupied in the Church and in that House, that he should condescend to bring this question out of the higher region to which it belonged into that lower region of party and political warfare.

The Archbishop of CANTERBURY: My object was to keep it out of the lower region into which I feared it might fall if my clause were not adopted. (Hear, hear.)

The Duke of RICHMOND said that if that had been his object he should not have selected the mode adopted by the most rev. prelate. Several amendments formed one great scheme of compromise which they were told ought to be adopted by their lordships and would be satisfactory to the country. Taking these clauses as one scheme he should oppose them, because it would be found that they were no compromise at all, and settled nothing. Believing that the first part of the amendment remedied a grievance, he could accept that, but not the second half.

Earl GRANVILLE thought the whole amendment good in itself, and should support it.

The Archbishop of CANTERBURY asked leave to divide the amendment for the purpose of taking the opinion of the House on the first part. The question was then put, and the first part of the amendment was agreed to.

On the second part of the amendment, providing that in cases in which the burial service of the Church might be lawfully used, another service might be used at the request of the person having charge of the funeral.

Lord CARDWELL said it would be interesting to know why this part of the amendment was not acceptable. By adopting the first part they had for the first time sanctioned a new service to remedy such a grievance as that brought forward—of a Baptist who had built a church and could not bury his daughter in the churchyard. Why should they thus meet the case of the Baptist and not that of the Wesleyan, or any Dissenter who might have a conscientious objection to any part of the burial service of the Church?

The Duke of RICHMOND regretted the introduction of the personal illustration, which compelled him to say that he was informed Sir Morton Peto's daughter died in London and was buried in London. The case for the first part of the clause rested on the position of the Baptists and the feelings of parents on the interment of children who had not been baptized on account of the religious views of the parents. The case for the second part of the amendment was wholly different, and it was part and parcel of the three clauses which were supposed to deal with the whole question.

Lord SELBORNE did not see why they should not consider the second part of the clause on its merits as well as the first. The most rev. prelate mentioned a class of cases of gross and notorious scandal. In such cases why should not the same service be used as in the case of unbaptized persons?

The Marquis of SALISBURY would be glad if a remedy could be applied to meet such cases. But the form must be previously drawn up and authorised; otherwise it might go much further than the evils indicated, and bring about a considerable abuse. This clause would practically allow a new burial service for the whole community, and if they allowed clergymen and bishops between themselves, without any limitation whatever, to settle what kind of doctrine might be put in hymns to be used on these occasions they might have services which would not be in accordance with the Protestant feeling of the community.

The Bishop of OXFORD considered the clause simply as an application of the Uniformity Amendment Act. The general objection was not to the use of particular words, but to the refusal of the service as an affront to the survivors. Any decent religious service approved by the clergyman and bishop would to a great extent remove the offence and relieve the clergyman from a difficulty which pressed again and again.

The Bishop of PETERBOROUGH asked whether, if there should be a second service, to be used only in scandalous cases, it would not be regarded as an affront to the survivors to have that inferior service performed. Besides, this was the first instance in which the parishioners had the right of objecting to the service; that matter had hitherto always rested with the clergyman under the direction of the bishop. He feared the effect of it would be to prevent the revival in the Church of godly discipline, which was so much desired. The true way to prevent scandal was by raising the discipline of the Church, and enabling it to correct during life, as was done in almost every other communion, the sins of its members.

After some further conversation,

The House divided on the question that this clause be here inserted—

Content ...	65
Not content ...	60
Majority ...	—5

The result was received with cheers by the Opposition.

The Archbishop of YORK proposed a clause to protect the clergyman from any penalty for not performing the Burial Service of the Church of England, if it appeared to the satisfaction of the

bishop that he acted under a reasonable belief that scandal and offence would be occasioned to the parishioners by the use of the service. A great benefit would, he said, be conferred on the clergy if the departure from the usual course were allowed.

Lord SELBORNE thought the clause was so surrounded with safeguards that the risk of abuse was reduced to the lowest possible limit. The Duke of RICHMOND said that he should decline to put upon the clergy the discretion which the clause would allow. Lord KIMBERLEY remarked that the true remedy was an alteration in the Burial Service. All men were not discreet, and the present was just one of those cases where an indiscreet clergyman might produce mischief. He should oppose the proposal. The Archbishop of CANTERBURY supported the amendment, which was opposed by Lord SALISBURY, not because it gave too much to the clergy, but because it placed on them a greater responsibility than they were subjected to at present.

In the course of some further discussion, the LORD CHANCELLOR suggested that the clause, to meet the views of some people, might read, "Henceforward no clergyman of the Church of England shall be obliged to read the service over parishioners if the bishop believes that the clergyman believes that the parishioners believe that a scandal would thereby be caused." (Laughter.) Earl GRANVILLE hoped the amendment would not be pressed, and it was negatived without a division.

The Earl of HARROWBY rose to move a clause to provide for the interment of a parishioner with or without any religious service. The clause was as follows:—

When the relative or other person having charge of the funeral of a person dying in any parish, or having had a right of interment in any parish, shall signify in writing to the incumbent of such parish, or to the curate in charge of the same, that it is his desire that the burial of the said person shall take place without the Burial Service of the Church of England, the said relative or person shall thereupon be at liberty to inter the deceased with such Christian and orderly religious services at the grave as he may think fit, or without any religious service; provided, that all regulations as to the position and making of the grave which would be in force in the case of a person interred with the service of the Church of England shall be in force as to such interment; provided, further, that notice of the time when it is the wish of the relatives or other persons as aforesaid to conduct the said interment shall be given to the incumbent or curate in charge at latest some time the day before; provided, further, that the said interment shall not take place at the time of or within half-an-hour before or after any service in the church, or of any funeral already appointed in the churchyard. If any person shall in any churchyard use any observance or ceremony or deliver any address not permitted by this Act, or otherwise, or by any lawful authority, or be guilty of any disorderly conduct, or conduct calculated to provoke a breach of the peace, or shall under colour of any religious observance or otherwise in any churchyard wilfully endeavour to bring into contempt or obloquy the Christian religion, or the belief or worship of any church or denomination of Christians, or the ministers or any minister of any such church or denomination, he shall be guilty of a misdemeanour.

The noble earl spoke of the grievance of the Dissenters in not being permitted to adopt their own service in their own churchyard, as one which, though described as sentimental, was not to be dismissed on that account, nor yet measured by the material difficulty experienced, nor the number of cases in which it occurred; and he compared it to an explosive gas which, by itself, could not be seen or handled. The grievance was the fact of exclusion; and the remedy could not be resistance now as an interference with the rights of the clergyman, because his control had been diminished by the clauses their lordships had agreed to. If this clause was not adopted, nothing would be done for the relief of the Dissenter, whose grievance was practically acknowledged. It might be said that the clergyman would have power to do what the clause would make obligatory upon him; but the matter ought not to be either left to the discretion or cast upon the responsibility of the clergyman. An honest man with the best intentions might refuse to permit the burial of a Dissenter, and therefore a merely permissive clause would lead to difficulty and scandal. The first natural impulse of men living in the same parish would be to merge their religious difference at the grave, and to find their last resting-place in the parish churchyard; and it should require very strong reasons to do violence to that natural impulse. The clause provided greater precautions than now existed for the preservation of order, for it made brawling a misdemeanour which could be dealt with summarily, whereas now it was an offence for which a person could be prosecuted only in an ecclesiastical court. There were many Nonconformists who ought not to be judged by the standard of the Liberation Society, for they entertained no hostility to the Church, and often attended its services. Many clergymen would be glad to see this concession made to Dissenters, and it was quite clear something must be done; it was only a question of time. The question was brought to this issue—would they allow the ministers of different religious denominations to perform their funeral

service in the churchyards? That issue had been raised over and over again, and, considering the state of opinion in and out of the House, he thought it would be impossible to settle this question stopping short of that issue. With these opinions, he desired to use the little influence he possessed in endeavouring to promote the settlement of this question. He had no expectation of being able to do so, but it would help to assuage the bitterness of feeling on the part of many if a large portion of their lordships, known to be attached to the Church, not only felt the grievance which existed, but were prepared to show that brotherly feeling towards their Nonconformist brethren which he knew they entertained in their own hearts. (Cheers.) He, therefore, urged their lordships to consider this question on its merits and adopt the clause which he now moved.

The Bishop of LINCOLN believed that the grievance complained of was almost unknown in our great towns, and as one of the benefits of this measure it would be very much diminished in country districts. He had lately been consecrating a portion of the cemetery in North Lincolnshire, where a large number of Nonconformists lived, and he inquired of the incumbent what had been the proportion of interments in the consecrated and unconsecrated ground. The reply was that there had been thirty-six interments in the consecrated portion, and only one in the unconsecrated part of the cemetery; and even that person had in his lifetime chosen a special portion of the consecrated ground where he desired to be interred; so that, looking to the desire of the deceased, it might be said that not a single person had been buried in unconsecrated ground. He believed the proposal of the noble earl would not conciliate the religious Dissenters; it would rather tend to make them the victims of the political Dissenters. The almost unanimous voice of the clergy was opposed to this amendment. He therefore trusted that their lordships would not sanction or adopt it. He would like to know what was meant by "Christian services." Some who denied the resurrection called themselves Christians. Were their lordships going to admit in the churchyards Romanising services which were the only Christian services to some? He entreated their lordships, not for his own sake, but for the sake of those who interests were far dearer than his own, because he believed them to be the interests of the Church of England and the cause of Christianity itself—in the name of that sacred cause, and of truth and peace itself, he begged their lordships to protect the rural churchyards of England from such profanation. (Hear, hear.)

After a few words from Lord STANLEY of ALDERLEY,

The Duke of RICHMOND and GORDON said that the noble earl proposed the clause now before the committee as a means of healing the differences which separated us from our Nonconformist brethren, and he said that it was absolutely necessary for that purpose that some such proposal as he had made should become law. But the noble earl was hardly consistent, for he went on to say that Dissenters in country places did not differ at all from members of the Church of England, that the parents and children went to the church and the other to the chapel, and that they did not object in any way to the ministrations of the clergymen of the Church of England. And yet the noble earl said, in order to do away with the differences between Nonconformists and Churchmen, a clause like this must be passed into law. The proposal was difficult to carry out. The noble lord proposed that the relative in charge should have the deceased interred with Christian and orderly services; but what were Christian and orderly services? Mr. Osborne Morgan, in another place, had found it impossible to make a definition—and in fact there were a certain number of persons who objected both to Christian and to any religious burial. Again, the noble lord had laid some stress upon the fact that everyone had a common law right to be buried, but did this right belong only to Christians? If the argument were followed out it would be necessary to allow Secularists to bury their dead with any service they thought proper. He submitted, then, that the precautions taken were not definite or distinct. He hoped the House would seriously consider the question, and he wished to know why the Church of England was the only body which was not to be allowed to set apart a burying-ground for its own dead. (Hear, hear.) He would like to have an answer to that question. (Hear, hear.)

Lord SELBORNE said that some of the noble duke's observations called for a reply. He did not consider it necessary to attempt a definition of Christianity, seeing that the law would not hold any one to be a transgressor unless the service held by him were proved to be neither Christian nor orderly. (Hear, hear.) The law would have no difficulty in determining if there were profane, or secular, or irreligious performances; and there already existed an adequate law of the land on such subjects at this moment. Great legal authorities had dealt with this particular question, and there was an Act of William III., imposing penalties on any person educated in or having made profession of the Christian religion who shall by writing, printing, teaching, or advised speaking deny the Christian religion. That Act was still in force, and there were others which spoke of "Christianity in general." Nothing could put the matter in a clearer light than the mention made of Christianity, and "Christianity in general," in the cases under the Acts against blasphemy,

when the words were used indefinitely. Secularists would be left in the position of persons who, not believing in religion, used no religious service; for, as to an irreligious form, it would not be a "service" at all. The two things were a contradiction in terms. The case of the Jews would of course occur to all of them, but it was rarely necessary to bury Jews in one of our churchyards, and we need not get into difficulties for their sakes. These clauses would leave them exactly in their present position. They could now have a silent burial, and they would have a silent burial if these clauses were passed. The Bishop of Peterborough agreed that a state of things existed which could not be safely allowed to continue, and that it was consistent with the principles of the Church of England, rightly understood, to permit services by Dissenting ministers in our churchyards.

The Bishop of PETERBOROUGH: With the leave of the incumbent.

Lord SELBORNE thought if any scheme could be liable to practical objections it was that of the right rev. prelate. (Hear, hear.) If the clergyman of a parish were willing to admit a Dissenting minister and a Dissenting service he would have to assume the official responsibility of this departure from the ordinary practice of the Church. Again, supposing that in a diocese containing 200 parishes 100 clergymen were to grant this liberty while the remainder refused it, would such a state of things be conducive to peace? (Hear, hear.) If the principle were right, the law ought to settle the mode of carrying it into effect, and he did not know how this could be done better than by adopting the clause under consideration. (Hear, hear.)

The Bishop of PETERBOROUGH said he had no desire to degrade the character of Christianity or to facilitate un-Christian and disorderly services in our churchyards. It was almost unnecessary for him to make this denial but for the interpretation which the noble lord seemed to have put on his words.

The House then divided.

When the tellers returned, no little excitement was occasioned among the peers near the table by the rumour that the numbers showed a "tie." There was a loud cry of "Order!" and the Chairman announced that the numbers were:—

Contents 102
Not Contents 102

There was much Opposition cheering, in the midst of which the Chairman said, "So the not-contents have it." Lord Harrowby's clause was thus lost. This is in accordance with the ancient rule of the House of Lords—namely, that where the votes are equal, *semper præsumitur pro negante*.

The other clauses of the bill were agreed to, and the chairman was ordered to report the bill with amendments.

The House then resumed, and at half past eleven o'clock their lordships adjourned to June 4.

ANALYSIS OF THE DIVISION.

In the division upon the Archbishop of Canterbury's amendment to the Burials Bill, relieving the minister from any penalty for omitting to use the service of the Church of England, and for using instead the service authorised by the bishop, the following Conservative peers voted with the Primate: Earls—Aberdeen, Amherst, Harrowby, Mount Edgumbe, and Verulam; Viscount Middleton; and Lords Cottesloe, Delamere, Gordon, and Plunket. The two archbishops and eight bishops voted in favour of this clause and against the Government, while seven bishops went into the opposite lobby.

In the division upon the Earl of Harrowby's amendment (which was supported and opposed by 102 votes, making a tie), the Conservative peers voting with Lord Harrowby and the Opposition in support of the clause were Earl Cawdor and the Earls of Aberdeen, Mount Edgumbe, and Verulam, Viscount Middleton, Lords Cottesloe, Delamere, Plunket, Seaton, and Sherborne. The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishops of Exeter and Oxford went with Lord Harrowby, the Archbishop of York did not vote, and eleven bishops voted against the clause, and with the Government.

The bishops who voted against Lord Harrowby's amendment were—Bath and Wells, Carlisle, Chichester, Ely, Hereford, Lichfield, Lincoln, Llandaff, Peterborough, Rochester, and Salisbury.

It may be further stated that the resolution moved in the House of Lords last year (1876) by Earl Granville received the support of 115 peers, including pairs. On the 26th of April, when the second reading of the bill came on, his lordship's resolution was supported by 124 peers, including pairs. On Thursday last the by number in favour of Lord Harrowby's clause, including pairs, was 121 peers. The following peers supported Lord Harrowby, who had not voted for either of Lord Granville's resolutions:—

Archbishop of Canterbury.	Lord Delamere.
Duke of Cleveland.	" Kenmare.
Marquis of Northampton.	" Kenry.
Earl Cawdor.	" Laverton.
" Harrowby.	" Plunket.
" Mount Edgumbe.	" Talbot de Malahide.
" Verulam.	" Vernon.
" Gordon.	Earl Shaftesbury (pair).
Bishop of Exeter.	" Dalham (p.).
Earl De Freyne.	Lord Suffield (p.).
	" Churchill (p.).

In the above list will be seen the significant names of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Exeter, and the Earl of Shaftesbury. Altogether, the principle of religious equality in the churchyards has received the support of no fewer than 158 peers.

THE RECENT JUDGMENT IN THE FOLKESTONE RITUAL CASE.

The *Church Review* says that the recent judgment of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council was not unanimous, but was carried by a majority of the judges, though, in accordance with precedent, the differences were not made public. The three dissentients are understood to have been the Lord Chief Baron, Lord Justice Amphlett, and Sir R. Phillimore.

The *Guardian* advises that now the law has been declared after careful argument it ought to be obeyed. It thus sums up its view of the Ridesdale decision:—"The decision, though it may be possible to dissent from it, seems to us to have been arrived at fairly, by a fair process of inquiry and reasoning. *Interest reipublice ut sit finis litium*. The habit of the celebrant is after all a matter which has no intrinsic importance. It has such importance only as people choose to give to it on grounds of symbolism or as continuing or reviving ecclesiastical traditions. On such a matter the judgment of such a court as this may rightly and reasonably be accepted, even by persons who would rather have had it otherwise. And with the more reason surely may it be accepted in that it does not change those vestures of the clergy to which the English Church is accustomed, but merely maintains what has now been the known and accustomed habit for more than 300 years."

The *John Bull* (High-Church) is on the whole satisfied with the judgment, which twenty years ago would have given peace and satisfaction to the Church. But a good deal has happened since then—

The ultra-Protestants have been encouraged to prosecute Anglicanism and Ritualism indiscriminately, with the inevitable result of forcing them more and more into a common defence. The Judicial Committee, after pronouncing the vestments legal, and the eastward position compulsory, peremptorily prohibited both in the Pughas judgment, and added a wanton condemnation of unleavened bread and the mixed chalice. Having thus combined the whole historical school in opposition, the attempt was made to force this judgment in an undefended cause upon the Church as a final exposition of the law, and the Public Worship Act was hurried through Parliament to compel its observance by new and unconstitutional penalties. The result has been a practical increase of Ritualism after every judgment, and a steady influx of Anglican Churchmen into the Church Union, transforming it from the party organisation it once was, into the only visible association for the defence of Anglo-Catholic principles.

The eastward position will now gain ground, and this the Evangelicals have brought upon themselves, for no bishop will allow another prosecution on this point. But the Church can never be safe till the Public Worship Act is repealed; everything depends upon the bishops restraining its action:—

It has done far more than the Judicial Committee to destroy confidence in the administration of the law. And it is the main obstacle to promoting that return to a better condition of things which there is much in the Folkestone judgment to encourage. If we could only hope that, on the promised retirement of Lord Penance, the Provincial and Diocesan Courts might be restored to their former jurisdictions, the prospect of restoring tranquillity would cease to be desperate.

Dr. Pusey, having been asked through one of the Church papers an opinion what should be done under the recent judgment by those who have hitherto worn vestments, writes, that if he were in charge of a parish he would give up nothing "as to the visible ritual" unless the congregation should wish it. "The Church Association and the courts would tire of sending clergymen to prison. Suffering is the path of victory." But he should be very careful to ascertain what was according to the mind of the Church of England, and avoid the introduction of things not sanctioned, though not forbidden by the Church.

If people were freed from the fear of arbitrariness, I do not think that, in these days of liberty of conscience, the people of England would bear the stamping out of a mode of worshipping Almighty God simply because some who never worshipped Him at all complained of it, or would support the disturbing of congregations who were of one mind, or taking away their minister for a matter of mere externals. The animal who would not let his neighbour, the ox, eat hay because it could not digest it itself, or because the bed which it had made in the manger was disturbed, is a proverb for what is selfish and detestable.

Of the Ritualist papers the *Church Review* is the more outspoken. "It will now," we are told, "depend upon the discretion of bishops and other circumstances whether any attempt will be made to force the opinion of the committee upon the Church. If so, the immediate result will be the commencement of the struggle which must unquestionably destroy the Establishment, and leave the Church with far reduced means and numbers, but stronger than ever, because united and zealous. . . . We think we may safely venture to predict that not a priest will be moved by the result of the Ridesdale case to abandon vestment or practice." The *Church Times* says:—"All that will now follow is the gradual adoption of the eastward position, to our mind far more important as a ritual observance than the vestments, in hundreds and thousands of churches where the chancel had no chance of admission, and thus the setting forth in them of that sacrificial doctrine which the Bennett judgment has made legally unassailable, and which is the real matter of contention underlying the surface dispute about robes and gestures." This is not much like war d'outrance against the law. In fact, the Ritualists are apparently ready

to acknowledge that "discretion is the better part of valour."

In our last number we stated that the Rev. Dr. Gregg, vicar of East Harborne, had announced his intention to secede from the Established Church, in consequence of the decision of the Privy Council in the Ridsdale case. This was done from the pulpit on Sunday week in presence of a large congregation. The *Birmingham Post* gives the following outline of his remarks:—

The doctor chose for his text the 18th verse of the 18th chapter of Matthew, "Upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." Having dwelt at some length upon the sacrament, he brought up the subject upon which he announced he would speak, and explained to some extent the two important cases, viz., the "Bennett" and "Ridsdale," which had been recently tried, and enumerated the various charges upon which the defendants were placed upon their trial. He further explained that the decision in the latter case was in favour of the adoption of the eastward position. If ever they went into any church and saw the minister standing at the communion table consecrating the elements with his back to the people, they would know that it involved the unbloody sacrifice of the altar; it involved an earthly priest coming between the sinner and God, and it involved the adoration of Christ present under the form of bread and wine. He asked, were not these principles which Latimer, Cranmer, Ridley, and a host of other martyrs protested against with their lives? He had a very deep and sincere affection for the beloved Church of England. How could he help loving it when his father had been a clergyman in it for about half-a-century; two of his uncles, three nephews, and a brother-in-law were also amongst its ministers? He was born in it, he was confirmed in it, he was brought up in it, and he loved it. He was a Churchman by birth, by choice, and by conviction, but sacerdotalism he abhorred, and he would say to all who truly loved the Church of England that they must set their faces like flints against any atoning sacrifice except that of Calvary. The great point in the Ridsdale case was the eastward position, and this position, allowed to the celebrant in the Ridsdale case, was the exponent of the doctrine permitted by the Bennett judgment. He knew this—that the Ridsdale decision had sent a thrill through the Church of England such as has not been experienced for centuries. They had asked him what he was going to do. He felt deeply grateful for their interests in his welfare, but was there not a more important question? He asked them as the laity of the Church what they were going to do. A letter, now in the press, would be sent by him to the members of his congregation, and would show what step he should take. He had for them, his dear friends, only one desire, the welfare of their immortal souls. He would ask them to reserve their opinion as to his course of action until they had carefully read his letter. He felt sure they would give him credit for this, that what conclusion he had arrived at had caused him great sorrows of heart, and he was fully persuaded in his own mind, and he had the courage to act up to the convictions that he held. He valued as dearly as ever the beloved Church of England in which he had ministered for some fourteen years, and he could only now say that he feared the cause of Evangelical truth, nay, the very stability of the Church of England itself, would be injured and imperilled by the decision in this case.

Since the sermon referred to was preached, Dr. Gregg has issued an address to his parishioners announcing his final decision to secede from the Church of England. Referring to the Bennett and Ridsdale judgments, the rev. gentleman says:—

As an Evangelical clergyman I cannot now accept all the legislative enactments of the Church of England as by law established. The only reason which I can assign is for conscience' sake. While I desire to love all who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, yet I have been, and am, a Churchman, not only by birth and training, but also by conviction, therefore the sacrifice in severing official connection with my flock is very great. I respect the law. I cannot conscientiously accept its interpretation. I cannot honourably evade its decision. Hence there remains for me but one course—separation. I shall abandon my position with pain, yet feel thankful that I have the courage to act according to the standard of my belief. My affection for the Church is unabated. My desire for its welfare is sincere. And I earnestly pray that every effort which it puts forth for God's glory and man's salvation may be crowned with abundant success.

In a postscript to this address, Dr. Gregg adds:—

Since the foregoing was written, I have had the honour to receive (quite unexpectedly and altogether unthought for by me) a "cordial and unanimous invitation" to become the incumbent of a church and congregation, the members of which have recently in a body ceased to worship in the Church of England as by law established. That invitation I have cordially accepted (subject to the termination of my ministry here). It is our intention to build, as soon as possible, a church where we shall have the privilege of using the old Liturgy, which all Church people love, but without the sacerdotalism which all Evangelical Church people deplore. It is intended also to adopt a revised Book of Common Prayer, differing from the present book (in use in the Church of England) only in having everything of a sacerdotal tenency carefully excluded. Thus, we shall not have either a new book or a new church, but we shall retain the old book revised, and still belong to the dear old Church reformed.

The view taken by Dr. Gregg is certainly not shared by Canon M'Nelle, who, in a letter to the *Record*, says that the judgment should be received by Evangelical Churchmen "with thankfulness":—

Had the eastward position been allowed, and also the sacrificial vestments, the combination would have amounted to an objective teaching of fatal error; but now the vestments are positively forbidden, and the eastward position teaches nothing, but the private judgment, or personal convenience, or both, of the individual celebrant. In this, there is no sanction of false doctrine; on the contrary, all sacrificial vestments and all postures of adoration being strictly forbidden, the

false doctrine referred to is tacitly but most expressively condemned.

Those extreme Ritualists who have proclaimed the vestments and postures to be matters of conscience, have now no other resource than a violation of the law. Meanwhile, to stand with their back to the communicants, as they have always done while reading the prayer of consecration, will prove a satisfaction to be enjoyed without controversy by the large body of old-fashioned High Churchmen.

Facts can be proved, but not intentions. I hope, therefore, that our friends of the Church Association will not feel themselves called upon to prosecute for the eastward position unless accompanied by some violation of the law, and that our friends generally will feel that their position in the Church is confirmed and strengthened.

The Rev. E. V. Bligh is not quite so thankful. He thinks that "the judgment is most serious, in that it allows the position, which is that of the Roman priest before the altar, and is supposed to symbolise Roman doctrine." He deprecates individual secessions. "If we do have to go (and the time may come), let us go in a body, but let us first consider and reflect, and not act either in pet or in panic."

Canon Eden greatly deplores the judgment, as the Ritualists will treat as legal what the court has pronounced to be "not penal." The decision will in its results, however, "draw a broad line between the upright sons of the Reformation and the dishonest hankers after Rome."

The Council of the Church Association have published a "conclusion" on the Ridsdale judgment, in which they state that they "cannot but rejoice with devout thankfulness to find that the soundness of the principles for which they have contended is amply sustained, and that the practices of the Evangelical clergy upon the matters before the Court have been declared to be alike in conformity with the law and consonant with the established usages of the Church of England since the Reformation." The decision in regard to the vestments, the council thinks, "is all that could have been desired"; and as to the eastward position, they hold that their lordships in their judgment plainly declare the legality of all that the Evangelical clergy have done and contended for in this matter. "And though the terms of the judgment affirm that 'the minister is authorised to do the manual acts standing on the west side and looking towards the east'—provided that in good faith he does them in the sight of the communicants, yet, on the whole, the decision of their lordships must be regarded as in all other respects a matter of devout thankfulness to Almighty God." The document concludes by asserting that, "on the whole, and in the grand result, the Protestant and evangelical character of the ritual and service of the Church of England has been most abundantly maintained and authoritatively pronounced."

The *Saturday Review*, summing up the losses and gains which the disputants realise from the Ridsdale judgment, says that Low Churchmen find themselves absolutely unmolested in all their own peculiarities, while they receive the gratification of seeing their opponents restricted in things which they care for. Clearly these have nothing to complain of or to agitate about. The other side may reckon to the good that the allowance of the eastward position, the compulsion of the cope in the higher order of churches, and the reassertion of the religious use of imagery as contained in the Exeter reredos judgment—following upon the permissions long since given in *Liddell v. Westerton*—vindicate for the Church of England, by the decision of the highest appellate jurisdiction, the possession of that ideal of worship—corporate, historical, and artistic—which corresponds with the conviction of the High-Church party. If they desire success and not notoriety, they will not what they have got, avoid Lord Penzance's court, protest if it comforts them, and move by constitutional ways to secure more elastic and practical rules of worship than the inductive interpretation of antiquarian documents of doubtful origin and ambiguous value.

The *Spectator* thinks that it is greatly to be regretted, in the interests of peace and charity, that the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council should have thought themselves obliged to reaffirm the Purchas judgment in the matter of vestments. It is probable that a great number of those affected by this decision will believe honestly, if mistakenly, that the conclusion of the court was, in some degree, dictated by considerations of policy rather than of pure law, and in the very critical position in which recent theological controversies have placed the Church of England, there was no need for this further addition to the existing materials of strife. It may be said that the concession of the eastward position will be enough to conciliate the moderate Ritualists, and to place a barrier between them and their more extreme allies. It may be so, but it is running a wholly needless risk to restrict the concession in this fashion. It must be remembered that there are thousands of clergymen who have never dreamed of wearing vestments themselves who are yet firmly convinced that vestments are legal. The Judicial Committee has now, by a very subtle and ingenious argument, maintained them to be illegal; but the clergy will continue to look at the words of the rubric, and as the words stand they most undoubtedly direct that vestments shall be retained and be in use. The *Spectator* will not be surprised if the effect of this new grievance is to knit the moderate section into closer unity with the extreme section, and thus the first result of the judgment may be to introduce vestments into many churches into which they have not yet found their way. If so, unless Parliament shows itself better advised

than the Judicial Committee, which is more than unlikely, there are very serious troubles in store for the Established Church.

THE DISESTABLISHMENT MOVEMENT.

CONFERENCE AT GLASGOW.

A conference of the supporters of the Liberation Society was held in the Hall of Greyfriars United Presbyterian Church, North Albion-street, Glasgow, on Thursday afternoon. There was a large and influential attendance of ministers and well-known laymen belonging to the United Presbyterian, the Congregationalist, and the Evangelical Union Churches. On the motion of the Rev. Mr. Brunton, Glasgow, Mr. J. Dick Peddie, Edinburgh, was called to preside.

The CHAIRMAN in his opening address said that they came together on that occasion not so much to state their principles as to consider what practical steps they should take. They had three points to consider—1st, Whether they should reorganise and give a new constitution to the branch of the Liberation Society in Scotland? 2nd, If so determined, what the organisation was to be; and 3rd, What were the measures the society was to adopt when reorganised? He himself advocated the reorganisation plan because the state of public feeling on disestablishment warranted such a step. The question had become familiar to them in Scotland, at public meetings and in church courts, especially those of the Free Church. The advance of the cause was even greater on the other side of the Tweed, chiefly owing to the splendid exertions of the Liberation Society. In Scotland, those who favoured disestablishment were not actuated by the common principles. There were two distinct classes. Besides the old religious voluntaries, who take their stand on Scriptural ground, and who are hostile to establishments as being opposed to the spirit of religion, there is one large class who, while not objecting to establishments in the abstract, object to the present Establishment of this country as not meeting their ideal, as not being altogether faithful to the truth, as not representing the majority of the nation, as being unfaithful to the principle of Christ's Headship, as seeking through recent legislation to draw away members from other churches, as not having a right to be regarded as the historical successor of the old Church of Scotland, and as being a bar to the union of other churches outside its pale. The second section, while recognising the force of the Scriptural objections, based their hostility on reasons which they regarded as more applicable in political discussions. They stood on the principle of equity, maintaining that the support of the religious tenets of a dominant sect in the country by taxes drawn from those to whom these tenets might be the veriest error, was the grossest injustice and oppression, or that as lovers of order and good government and liberal principles, they objected on the ground of the hostility which Established Churches had at all times shown to liberal measures, to public improvements, to all that was fitted to give fuller and freer development to the national life. For this section there was no fitting organisation outside the Liberation Society. (Hear, hear.) He thought this case had somewhat suffered from being left too much in the hands of the class first referred to, whose action seemed too much the result of ecclesiastical rivalries and jealousies. He thought, therefore, they must seek to take the question out of that restricted space, and to make it evident that they were not influenced by ecclesiastical rivalry, but that as citizens, they objected to all establishments of religion on grounds applicable not to one Church of one country only, but to the whole system of which they were part. It had been a question whether they should not organise as a separate Scottish society, instead of doing so as a branch of the Liberation Society. (Applause.) He thought a little consideration would show that there were many advantages in acting in connection with that society. They had a common cause with them; common grievances to redress, common rights to vindicate, and in common action lay our strength. They had been too much given in Scotland to look to Church Establishment as it presented itself in their own country. This was a mistake, and a source of weakness. They had not sufficiently realised the fact that they were citizens not of Scotland only, but of the United Kingdom; that being so, they were concerned in the maintenance of the Established Church of England as directly, if not to as great a degree, as in that of their own country. The Church of England was upheld and regulated by laws emanating not from a Parliament of England, but from the British Parliament, and there was no Act passed affecting it, in which, through their representatives, they had not a share. Again, in the English Establishment all the evils of the system existed in a still greater degree than in their own. Its branches were more intertwined with the fabric of the Constitution, it more directly affected and influenced the general legislation of the country, having through its bishops a direct part in that legislation. Its power was much greater than that of the Scotch Establishment, its ecclesiastical system more opposed to that of the Dissenters of the country, its privileges greater and more galling.

The Church of England never gave rest to those outside of its communion. They could not engage in any good work but the pretensions of that Church came across their path. (Hear, hear.) It affected more seriously the social life of the country than did the Scotch Church. It made a line of cleavage from the top to the bottom of society, dividing Churchman from Dissenter, and class from class. It interfered with business relations. Connection with it was often a clause in the lease between landlord and tenant, it was a condition without which tradesmen in the small country towns could not supply the local gentry; it was essential as a passport to social intercourse—even in death, the Church sought to divide the Churchman from the Dissenter. Again, by acting with the Liberation Society, they had the benefit of their great resources, their long experience, their thorough organisation, and instead of acting as a small, isolated body, they would have all the influence which could be derived from being a branch of an organisation of vast extent and great power. He need not tell them what the Liberation Society had done since it came into existence in 1844, after the Disruption, years after the voluntary agitation, once so effectively carried on in this country, had come to an end. During its existence, Jewish disabilities had been removed, compulsory Church-rates abolished, the Universities opened to Dissenters, the State-Church in Ireland disestablished; and in the bringing about of all these measures that society bore no small part. It was now in fuller vigour than ever, carrying on a noble contest in England, and daily growing in power and influence. He trusted, therefore, they should that day resolve to reconstitute themselves a branch of that society, and commence with renewed vigour a determined effort to bring about the great ends for which it existed. (Applause.)

Dr. ROBERT JEFFREY, seconded by the Rev. Mr. OLIVER, Glasgow, moved the appointment of the Rev. David Russell, the Rev. John Douglas, and Mr. William Borland, as secretaries to the Conference, and the appointment was unanimously agreed to.

The Rev. ALEXANDER HANNAY, of London, said that when requested by the committee of the Liberation Society to accompany Mr. Williams to this meeting, he consented with great promptitude and cordiality, not only because it was always a pleasure to revisit Scotland, but because he felt that in many respects he owed a debt to his fellow-countrymen, which he had had few opportunities of discharging. If he had any firm apprehension of the principles which ought to regulate the relations of temporal and spiritual powers, any clear apprehension of the principles which underlay the contention of the anti-State Churchmen of this generation, he received them in early boyhood, by inoculation, so to speak, from the great leaders of the Scotch controversy. All his earlier ideas about Church organisation, and Church politics, and polemical writing and debate, were connected with the names of Dr. Young, of Perth; Dr. Marshall, of Kirkintilloch; Dr. Dall, of Edinburgh; and Dr. Wardlaw, of Glasgow. (Applause.) Indeed, although that little concerned nobody but himself, the whole form and labour of his life was, he believed, determined by the passionate controversy which raged in Scotland, over forty years ago on this question. He proposed, then, to say a word or two about the state of the question on the other side of the Tweed. This was an imperial question, whether they were speaking of the disestablishment of the Scotch Church or the disestablishment of the English Church. The problem of the disestablishment of the Scotch Church was conditioned by the state of feeling in regard to disestablishment in general which might prevail in other parts of the kingdom; and it seemed to him that they should be brought to a complete understanding of one another's position, and into free and active fellowship to labour with one another. (Hear, hear.) But a few years ago, even since he went south the Tweed, those who spoke of disestablishment and disendowment of the English Church were regarded as dreamers, but now that question, put just in that broad and bold way, had taken a position lately in all the organs of public opinion, as no other question had done. Only this month in the leading monthly periodicals, there were no fewer than five articles—*Contemporary*, *Nineteenth Century*, *Fortnightly*—all the leading organs of public opinion, indeed, were dealing with the question how the principles the Liberationists had so long maintained could be dealt with within the sphere of practical politics. Nor was this all. The question had become a positive fascination for the English clerical mind. (A laugh, and "Hear, hear.") The clergymen of the Church of England could come together in no assembly but the question of the disestablishment cropped up as the question of the hour. Everywhere it was the one topic of their assemblies. One faction, indeed, in one of the leading sects with which the Established Church of England was divided had unfurled the disestablishment flag. The greater number of leading Ritualists were not only prepared to accept disestablishment, they were loudly demanding it. They had formed a league for the disestablishment of the Church of England. It was said the other day that a thousand clergymen had joined it. He was somewhat doubtful if that was true, but he was certain, and had no doubt the Ridsdale judgment would confirm it, that the Ritualists were fast tending to the position of disestablishment. We could understand them quite well. They claimed self-government in order

that they might carry out certain conceptions they had, chiefly of priestly authority. Then the Broad Church party was steeped in Erastianism, taking Dean Stanley for its leading literary representative, the most influential man in the body. He was perhaps the boldest, and perhaps the most shameless, exponent of Erastian theory that ever lived. (Applause.) Strangely enough, a glimmer of light had come to them from that quarter too. There seemed to be stealing over the Erastian party the feeling that disestablishment was coming. That being so, they said—"Well, when it comes let it be thorough," and what that meant, as he understood it, was—let disendowment be thorough. (Applause.) The Ritualists who were prepared to accept disestablishment would rather carry endowment with them; but Dean Stanley and his friends, who were noble and liberal-spirited men, who were making their stand for freedom of conscience, and who hated above all things priestly tyranny, said—"If you disestablish the Church of England, and leave the massive endowments, you will establish a ghostly tyranny in England under which no man would be able to call his soul his own." In the issue he expected they would be helped—as against the grasping of the High-Church section, who said, "If disestablished, we must take our property with us"—by the Broad-Churchmen, who said, "Let it be thorough, let us move on one plan and be free men." (Applause.) He would not say a word about the Evangelical section in the Established Church. The colour of Erastianism in that section was about as deep as in the Broad Church section, and unhappily for the interests of evangelical religion in England that section of the Church had no leader, no statesman. If there could but rise from the grave one of the men who led the Disruption in the Church of Scotland to take the head of that section in the Church of England, then good service might be rendered. (Applause.) As to the position into which the question had come in political circles he had a word to say. In the House of Commons it was difficult to judge. When a man was sent to the House of Commons he ceased to be a transparent index of the state of political opinion. He fell under the trammels of his party, and was slow to speak what he himself felt or indicate the drift his own mind had been taking. But it had been clearly established that the Established Churches of this kingdom were not, as once supposed, institutions of that uniqueness of character that took them out of the category of other national institutions, but must be dealt with on pure political grounds like all other national institutions, and when they ceased to be institutions accepted by the people, and serving the ends for which they were planted by the people, they must cease to be maintained in the people's name and at the people's expense. (Applause.) That position was secured when the Church of Ireland was disestablished. Throughout the country in the provincial political centres the feeling was growing that the Liberal party of England could never be thoroughly organised except on a platform—as their American cousins said—that would include the religious equality plank. Everything was growing towards a favourable condition of national feeling for pressing the one great question of disestablishment. Matters were ripening so fast that the new form of organisation upon which they were entering should set to itself the task of disestablishing the Church of Scotland. (Cheers.) That would be a simple and easy task. (Applause.) The Church of Scotland was not the Church of the Scottish people. Three or four years ago a leading statesman said the Church of Scotland might be pushed over with an old umbrella. (Laughter.) The same statesman had said that a competent draftsman might draft a bill in two hours that would provide for the disestablishing of the Scottish Church, and he rather wondered that it had not been done, and that those who were interested in disestablishment did not attack the whole problem from that side. By the adherence of the great body of the Free Church of Scotland to the general policy of disestablishing the National Church, a great force was brought to their back, which as Voluntaries they had not before, and their course would be reprehensible if there were any silence from this hour. A standstill policy would be fatal—(applause)—it would be utterly wrong tactics, it would be disgraceful to them in its bearings to their loyalty to principles. They must positively fill the air of England and Scotland, and produce an opinion and sentiment with regard to the subject. (Hear, hear.) The disestablishment of the Irish Church came too soon by some years. (Hear, hear.) Some said, "We hope, if disestablishment is to come, that we will be the last to be taken." The more fools they. (Laughter.) No other disestablished Church would get such good terms as the Church of Ireland. (Loud applause.) The rev. gentleman concluded by appealing to his Scotch friends to be faithful to the cause. He brought to them fraternal greetings from their distressed and burdened brethren in the south. The disestablishment of the Scotch Church would be conditioned largely by the state of feeling with regard to disestablishment south of the Tweed, but if they could disestablish the Church of Scotland they would give their friends in England an immense lift in their work. (Applause.)

Dr. JOSEPH BROWN, who on rising was greeted with cheers, said he observed present a number of his brethren who had felt it their duty to run away from the Synod for a short time. He, like these friends, had been anxious to attend this conference, but some business he had to do in the

Synod rendered it necessary for him to leave the conference. But he wished to express how entirely he concurred with the object of the meeting. Perhaps he was the oldest minister present who had taken an interest in the Voluntary question. It was forty years since he made his first Voluntary speech, and he had never diminished his interest in the cause, and he was one of those who was at the formation of the Liberation Society under the old name. (Applause.) He wished the conference all success. (Applause.)

Rev. Dr. HUTTON, Paisley, proposed the first resolution, as follows:—

That, in the opinion of this conference, the time has arrived when there should be commenced a vigorous and sustained agitation in Scotland, having in view both Parliamentary and electoral action for the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church of Scotland.

In supporting the motion, Dr. Hutton said the expression that the disestablishment of the Church of Scotland was ripe for settlement was embodied in the resolution, because it might be useful that such an expression of opinion should be given. They did not say—he wished to be cautious—they did not say that the English Church question was not ripe when they were saying that the Scotch question was ripe. He sometimes regretted that friends spoke, as he thought, a little incautiously, about the comparative ripeness of questions on this side and on that side of the Tweed. It was their great duty to ripen them on both sides of the Tweed. They were merely saying, therefore, that the Scottish question was ripe; they were not pronouncing an opinion to the contrary in regard to the English question. He wished also to say that, while the Kirk question was mentioned in the resolution they were perfectly free in any council they might form to deal with English questions, and he would not himself enter into any organisation of Liberation friends which did not leave himself absolutely free to deal with all questions of an Imperial kind affecting disestablishment. It had been said that they in Scotland were a little provincial. He thought in England they were a little provincial too—(laughter)—and that if they in Scotland required to look at the English question with Imperial eyes, their friends in England needed to look at Scotch questions with Imperial eyes. Therefore, they understood each other; they had one interest—they were one concern. Whether it was the question of the Kirk in Scotland, or the question of the English Church, they had an equal interest and responsibility. (Applause.) The point of the motion was that the time had now arrived. Surely the time had arrived. (Hear, hear.) Forty years, as they had been reminded, had elapsed since what was called the Voluntary question came to the front. He rejoiced to hear from his friend Mr. Hannay, what he said about the impolicy, the utter impolicy, of their Scottish Dissenters not pushing forward this great question consecutively. If that had been done, he was convinced that they would not have been called together that day on the subject of the disestablishment of the Church of Scotland; that would have already been an accomplished fact. That the time had arrived was shown by many significant circumstances, among others the aggression of the Established Churches, and which ought to call the Dissenters to instant action in self-defence, self-defensive aggression being needful to bring that system under which they suffered to an end. With regard to the state of public opinion throughout Scotland and throughout the country, he observed that the sentiment in the churches as well as outside the churches was highly developed, and was fast developing. He believed the more activity and more speaking out in all localities would secure a response showing that the state of feeling amongst the people within, as well as without the ecclesiastical bodies was very ripe indeed on the question. (Applause.) With respect to the point about the state of political parties, Dr. Hutton remarked we had the Tory party, which did not know very well what to do, and which might, perhaps, as had been hinted, be very willing to take up this question, if neglected by other parties, to settle it on principles or details they should not much like. But not only the state of the Tory party, but the state of the Liberal party was most significant. Why, it was in a state of dissolution, and was without leaders, and was deservedly without leaders, because it was without principles. (Loud applause.) And that extremity of the Liberal party would, he hoped, be their opportunity. (Applause.) Altogether, he considered the time was ripe, and that they ought to strike now, and lay the axe at the root of the tree. (Applause.)

Rev. Mr. GOODRICH, Glasgow (Congregationalist) seconded the motion, expressing his conviction that this question would not rapidly proceed unless there be vigorous and consistent action. The question had now been before the minds of the thinkers, and the time had come when the speakers of the United Kingdom should place it before the people with eloquence and enthusiasm, so as to rouse in them that feeling which in due time would find its way to the Houses of Parliament, and be expressed in the Act which they so much desired. And the character of this agitation would be such that they could all very cordially support. The question in the south, he proceeded, had after all become not merely a question between the English Church and Dissenters. It had passed that stage; the Romanism in the Church of England, its intolerance, had lifted—howbeit it meant not so—this question to an

Imperial question, so that the people of England, he was persuaded, as in Scotland would feel that the issue was simply this—"Shall the Parliament of England be nominated by priestism and squirearchy in the interests of priestism?" If they could only get that straight before them, they would rouse the conscience of the Scottish people, who would carry out enthusiasm in action, and their intensity of principle would give to this movement very great support.

The resolution was carried with acclamation.

Mr. CARVELL WILLIAMS next addressed the meeting, and in giving an outline of the scheme for forming a Scottish council, said that it was not proposed to form a new society, but a new branch of an existing society, the connection between the two being as perfect as could be made. Thus they thought it possible to extend action all over Scotland, by the joint action of the central body in Edinburgh or Glasgow, and the various local bodies. If the Scottish effort was successful and a second Establishment went, leaving the English Establishment alone, that institution would not be worth many years' purchase.

The Rev. Dr. GUTHRIE, Glasgow, moved the second resolution:—

That, heartily approving of the principles and modes of procedure of the Society for the Liberation of Religion from State Patronage and Control, the conference is desirous that its operations should be carried on in Scotland with increased energy, and with adaptation to the present advanced position of the Establishment question. To that end the conference considers it desirable that the society should be represented in Scotland by a central body, and expresses concurrence in the proposal of the executive committee that a Scottish council of the society should be now formed.

He said that he carried his recollections of Voluntary championship as far back as Dr. Brown, for in his boyhood his soul kindled at the old Voluntary controversy. He thought they were now proposing to do the right thing, and to do it at the right time, and in the right way. The Scottish Establishment, at no time right, seemed to be daily going more wrong. He meant the Church established, he did not mean the Established Church. For the Established Church they had come to feel a high degree of respect, but so far as it had stood well it was not by reason of the Establishment. The time had long gone by when they could talk of the Establishment, as such, evangelising any nation or section of a nation. It was, of course, not to be expected that she would disestablish herself, or even whisper the Macedonian cry, "Come over and help us"—(laughter)—and it therefore remained with Voluntaries to take action.

Rev. Dr. MARSHALL, Coupar-Angus, seconded the motion. He hoped that they had come to an epoch in the history of this cause, and that it had received a great impetus by the meeting in Glasgow, the centre of Voluntaryism in Scotland. It appeared to him that there was some very undefined but real jealousy and rivalry between the Disestablishment Association and the Liberation Society in Scotland. If anything could be done to remove that, he thought an important end would be gained. He had asked one of his Free Church friends at the meeting of the executive in Perth last week if the objects of the two societies were not the same; were they not asking the liberation of religion from State patronage and State control? His friend admitted that they were asking the same, but he said they were doing so on different grounds. His (Dr. Marshall's) reply was that the Free Church courts had of late been taking the strongest Voluntary grounds that could be taken, pronouncing the civil establishment of religion in the country an intolerable injustice. For there was nothing unjust that was not sinful, and nothing unjust that was not unscriptural. Dr. Marshall proceeded to say, partly, he explained, for the benefit of his Free Church friends, that he would like if those small attempts at distinguishing between old profane Voluntaries like Dr. Marshall, as they were wont to be called, and the new pious disestablishment men as they consider themselves, were given up at once, and that they would be all found working heartily together. He thought their cause in Scotland would be greatly strengthened if they knew one another better on the question. For instance, if they understood each other a little better, they might consider more thoroughly whether it were consistent, and whether it promoted their attempts to get the disestablishment of the Church of Scotland, when they were winking at or in any way helping the civil establishment of religion in the schools. ("Hear, hear," and loud applause.) He was glad his observation had met with such a response, for he was going to follow it with a very plain statement, and that was that he did not see the consistency of Voluntaries, when acting on parish boards, agreeing to a rate to pay for the teaching in the school of religion—"Hear, hear," and applause)—and making it compulsory. (Hear, hear.) If that was not just as objectionable as compulsory support of religion in the Church, he had lost any logical brain he ever had. (Laughter.) He did not see the consistency of thorough Voluntaries doing that, and he was sorry to say that, while it was being done, there was scarcely a murmur throughout the length and breadth of Scotland. He might be very rash in saying these things, but he thought they might be salutary. (Applause.)

Bailie ESSELMONT, Aberdeen, who seconded the motion, said that the object of the present meeting had been highly approved in Aberdeen. Speaking of the local feeling in regard to the question of disestablishment, he said that if they knew the feeling

among the laymen throughout the Free Church, they would not hesitate as they did to adopt the principles of this association.

The resolution was unanimously carried.

The Rev. DAVID RUSSELL, Glasgow, then moved the adoption of the rules for the conduct of the council, expressing his satisfaction that they were so complete and so likely to attain the ends aimed at. This was seconded by the Rev. OLIVER FLETT, Paisley, and adopted.

On the motion of the Rev. JAMES JARVEY, Greenock, seconded by Bailie ESSELMONT, Aberdeen, an influential council was appointed.

Mr. JAMES STEWART, Glasgow, moved:—

That the Conference, believing that the time has come when the Church of Scotland should be disestablished and disendowed, expresses the hope that at the proper time, and at no distant day, one or other of our leading Scotch members of Parliament will, in the House of Commons, advocate the extension to Scotland of the religious equality now enjoyed in Ireland.

(Applause.) In supporting the motion, Mr. Stewart remarked that they did not want disestablishment on the same lavish and unequal principle in which it was carried out in connection with the Irish Church. It had been said that the Church of Scotland would easily be disestablished, but it must be remembered that though the Church was not numerically strong, its position was strong, because it was now felt, and had been, by the Church of England since the Church of Ireland was disestablished, to be the greatest outwork. Monopolies died hard, and of all monopolies in the country, the Church monopolies were the strongest existing.

Mr. T. R. MUDIE seconded the motion, which was agreed to.

The chairman was thanked for his conduct of the business, and the proceedings then terminated.

A dinner was held in the afternoon in the Royal Hotel, and between seventy and eighty gentlemen sat down to dinner. Mr. R. T. Middleton, of Hillfoot, presided, and said he was delighted to take the position of chairman at a Voluntary dinner, and receive as guests two such distinguished champions of the Liberation Society as the Rev. Mr. Hannay and Mr. Carvell Williams. (Applause.) All present were united in the belief that now was the time for determined action by the Scotch Voluntaries. Dr. Hutton, Paisley, said that in all localities they would have to look out for the right men to be brought forward as candidates for constituencies. He congratulated Mr. Carvell Williams on entering upon the duties of a more influential position in connection with the society, and as he (Mr. Williams) had the full confidence of Voluntaries both in Scotland and England, they looked forward, under his wise direction and energy, to a campaign of ultimate success. (Loud applause.) Mr. J. DICK PEDDIE, Edinburgh, also spoke. The Rev. A. HANNAY expressed the hope that what Dr. Hutton had said about the desirableness of promoting a vigorous local organisation would be laid to heart, and every electoral constituency in the country must be moved and thoroughly dealt with. (Applause.) Mr. CARVELL WILLIAMS said he had been agreeably surprised at the ease and facility with which the object had been accomplished which had brought himself and Mr. Hannay amongst them. Mr. J. PULLAR, of Keirfield, and Mr. A. SINCLAIR, of Glasgow, proposed a vote of thanks.

The annual "Dissenters' breakfast," in connection with the United Presbyterian Synod, being held the next morning, Mr. Carvell Williams and the Rev. A. Hannay were among the guests, and took part in the proceedings, which were of a very animated character. The Rev. J. Rankine, the ex-moderator, presided, and the Scottish speakers were the Rev. Messrs. Corbett and Martin, Messrs. Peddie and Pearson. The deputation from London gave stirring addresses: Mr. Carvell Williams stating some striking facts to illustrate the progress their principles were making among Episcopalians, and Mr. Hannay urging Scottish voluntaries to take up the disestablishment question with their old ardour. He said that this ought to be the last campaign so far as Scotland was concerned, and at the next election the Liberal party should be committed to disestablishment in Scotland at the very least.

ENGLISH MEETINGS.

The great demands upon our space during the last few weeks has prevented us from reporting many of the meetings that have been held throughout the country in connection with the disestablishment movement. For, although the time for meetings is generally considered to be over at this season of the year, there has been no cessation this month either in the demand or in the supply of meetings in support of the disestablishment. One or two of these may be briefly noticed.

A week or two ago the Rev. J. McDougall, of Darwen, replied at Darwen, to Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Croston, on the Church property question. The address was one of the best that we have read upon the subject, close in texture, full of illustration, convincing in argument. Mr. McDougall has, we are glad to see, collected some testimonies upon this question that have not previously been used. If the author would put together all that he has said upon this subject, and publish it, we should have one of the best popular works upon the question. We are glad to see this address so fully reported in Lancashire

papers. In fact, the extent to which the Disestablishment meetings are reported in the press is unprecedented in the history of public movements.

Dr. Mellor's unique and popular lecture, "Why meddle?" has, we observe, been re-delivered at Dewsbury in the early part of the month, where it was received with the same enthusiasm that it has excited elsewhere.

Another lecture, original both in matter and structure, is Mr. J. A. Picton's "Disestablishment as a Question of Practical Politics," which was delivered at Chelsea a fortnight ago, when it excited a healthy discussion. Mr. Picton said that all Parliamentary candidates should be expected to act upon the conviction that a Disestablishment Act was to be the work of the present generation.

Mr. Gordon has not suspended his work one week. We have reports before us of recent meetings at Chalfont, High Benham, Princes Risborough, South Bank, Marske, and Saltburn. Here also, the local journals report the lecturer at great length, and almost everywhere he has had capital meetings.

A good work is being done in the Eastern counties—especially in Lincolnshire villages. The Church question was touched upon at the Agricultural Conference, and a resolution concerning it was also passed at the great mass meeting, held in Somersetshire on Whit Monday. The labourers are being educated in the doctrines of disestablishment, and appear thoroughly to understand them. Of the meetings held we have reports from Long Stanton, Walpole, Walsoken, Louth, Horncastle, Boston, Oakington, Earith, Parson Drove, Walton, the lecturers being Mr. Clarkson, Mr. Lloyd, and Mr. Lummis.

The North also is being well worked. Meetings are reported at Boyne Colliery, Brandon, and Seghill, which we have not previously noticed.

Mr. Mackonochie is writing an article on "Disestablishment" for the June number of the *Nineteenth Century*.

THE NEW BISHOP OF ROCHESTER.—The Archbishop of Rochester has fixed St. James's Day, July 25, for the consecration of Canon Thorold to be Bishop of Rochester. It will take place in Westminster Abbey, and the sermon will be preached by the Rev. Sir Emilius Bayley, Bart, B.D., vicar of St. John's, Paddington.

SECESSIONS TO ROME.—The Rev. J. F. Fagge, M.A., for nearly thirty years vicar of Aston Cantlow, in the diocese of Worcester, has resigned his living and been received into the Church of Rome. The Rev. James Arthur Poole, B.A., curate of St. John's, Miles Platting, has resigned, and has also been received into the Roman Catholic Church.

VOLUNTARY CHURCH RATE.—The estimate of the expenses of repairs and maintenance of services at St. Leonard's parish church, Shoreditch, amount to 270*l.*, and a public meeting of the ratepayers has resolved to raise the requisite amount by means of a voluntary Church-rate of one penny in the pound on the rateable value. The North London Railway and Gas Companies have declined to pay the rate any longer.

BISHOP BARING ON CHURCH PROSPECTS.—The Bishop of Durham opened a new church on Thursday, at Great Stainton, near Darlington. At a luncheon which followed, Bishop Baring said that the question of disestablishment and disendowment depended upon the conduct of the clergy within the next two or three years. The laity were talking about the question, but they did not calculate the great evil it would do both to the Church and to Dissent. The result would be, in the first place, a fearful spread of infidelity, and then a reaction to real Popery.

A FERVENT CONVERT.—The Rev. Henry MacDougall, rector of St. Michael's, Stamford, has twice since Easter administered the sacrament in his church with unfermented wine. On Saturday he received a communication from the Bishop of Lincoln prohibiting him from repeating the practice. Mr. MacDougall returned to his parish only a few months since, after having undergone twelve months' inhibition for intemperance. The rev. gentleman has now warmly espoused the teetotal cause.

A TORY OPINION OF THE SCOTTISH ESTABLISHMENT.—Sir William Stirling Maxwell, in laying the foundation stone of an Established church at Pollokshields, Glasgow, on Saturday, said that the Church of Scotland holds a paramount place in the affections of her people. Under all circumstances, he thought it reasonable that the Church of Scotland should enjoy very considerable favours, and there never was a time when, as leaders of public opinion, the leaders of the Church of Scotland occupied a more eminent position.

SECESSION FROM THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.—The Rev. Fergus Ferguson, of Glasgow, one of the ablest ministers in the United Presbyterian Church, has resigned his connection with that body on account of the views which he entertains respecting the Westminster Confession of Faith having been condemned by some speakers at the present meeting of the United Presbyterian Synod. Mr. Ferguson was formerly minister of Dalkeith, and was only translated to Queen's Park Church, Crosshill, Glasgow, one of the most important charges in the body, about a year ago.

ST. JAMES'S, HATCHAM.—The services at this church on Sunday were unmarked by any unusual incident. Mr. Tooth did not, as on the previous

Sunday, conduct or take part in any service. With regard to the entry effected a week ago by Mr. Tooth, with the concurrence of one of the churchwardens, it is being considered if any steps can be taken against the rev. gentleman. The large crucifix that has until lately hung suspended in the centre of the nave of the church has been removed, the judgment in the Folkestone ritual appeal having declared the keeping of such an image to be contrary to law.

THE MANX BISHOPRIC.—The House of Keys had before them on Monday the Bishops' Temporalities Bill. They struck out all allusion to the amalgamation of the Manx diocese with any English see; passed provisions that the revenues of the bishopric should be paid to the trustees; that the trustees should pay to the bishop yearly 1,500*l.*; and that, in addition thereto, the bishops shall have and enjoy the house and gardens of the Bishop's Court and forty acres of land, the balance of the episcopal revenues to be devoted in paying 1,000*l.* yearly to the retired or coadjutor bishop, if there be such, and any surplus towards ameliorating the condition of the inferior clergy.

DISENDOWMENT AND CIVIL WAR.—The Bishop of Oxford preached on Saturday at the reopening of Cropredy Church, near Banbury, after restoration at a cost of upwards of 2,000*l.* His lordship afterwards presided at a luncheon, and said that some person had advised the vicar not to restore the church for fear of its being handed over to somebody else. He (the bishop) thought that individual had made a wonderful mistake in his argument, for, supposing they were to fall upon the evil days suggested, there had been great activity in the Church of recent times, and great sums had been spent in the restoration of churches, which made them their own; and if any party should say that they would take over these churches and make no allowance for all that had been spent on them, it seemed to him almost a question of civil war.

THE BISHOP OF CEYLON AND THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY.—The *Times* of India says:—"There is less likelihood than ever of the Ceylon quarrel being patched up and agreement come to between the Church Missionary Society and Bishop Copleston. We learn that the Committee of the Church Missionary Society have assured the managers of the Coolie Mission again very positively that they will stand by them thoroughly. They have given practical proof of their intention to do so by nominating two laymen for the Tamil Coolie Mission, who are to reach Ceylon by June; they have also granted 1,000 rupees each for four new churches to be built in such places as will be convenient for the converts. It will be remembered that a good deal of the bad feeling aroused was in consequence of the native Christians declining to worship in churches where Ritualism was practised."

THE BURIALS BILL.—The following petition was presented to the House of Lords on Thursday night:—"The humble petition of the undersigned ministers of various denominations sheweth,—That your petitioners are ministers of religion connected with various denominations of Nonconformists. That your petitioners have considered the provisions of the bill entitled the Burials Act Consolidation Bill, introduced into your Lordships' House in fulfilment of a pledge of Her Majesty's Government to propose a measure for the removal of the just complaints of Nonconformists in relation to the present laws affecting burials in parochial graveyards. That your petitioners are of opinion that the proposal to levy a rate for the provision of a new cemetery, in parishes where there are no sanitary reasons for closing the existing churchyards, would be inoperative; that, if operative, it would involve a wasteful expenditure of public money; and that, while the rate would be levied in order to protect Episcopalians in the exclusive use of property belonging to all the parishioners, the opprobrium incident to an unnecessary rate would attach to Nonconformists. That the provision of the bill which proposes to meet the claims of Nonconformists to conduct a service of their own in the parochial graveyard, by permitting them to bury their friends in silence without any religious service or any other ceremony, is regarded by your petitioners as an insult to those of Her Majesty's subjects who are not members of the Church of England. That your petitioners desire to assure your lordships that no settlement of this question will be regarded as satisfactory by the Nonconformists of England and Wales which does not permit interments in the parish churchyards with services other than those of the Established Church, and by others than the ministers of that Church. Wherefore your petitioners humbly pray your honourable House to amend the bill accordingly. And your petitioners will ever pray, &c." The petition was signed by 5,356 ministers, as follows:—Congregational, 1,450; Baptists, 1,260; Wesleyans, 1,175; Primitives, 468; New Connection, 148; United Methodist Free Church, 285; Presbyterian, 197; Unitarian, 210; New Jerusalem, 31; Miscellaneous, not classed, 132.

Sir Charles Reed, Mr. Goschen, M.P., Lord George Hamilton, M.P., the Marquis of Lansdowne, and other eminent persons attended a meeting on Thursday evening at the Shoreditch Town Hall, in aid of the Society for Extending University Teaching. They stated that the object of the society was to give lectures by the best University professors. The society had had much success in the provinces, and they wished to introduce the scheme in the metropolis.

Religious and Denominational News.

The Rev. W. H. Jellie, late of Gosport, has accepted the cordial and unanimous invitation to the pastorate of the Congregational Church, Addison-street, Nottingham.

The Rev. Frederick Hall, of Kipping Chapel, Thoroton, has accepted the urgent and unanimous invitation of the church and congregation assembling in Upper Chapel, Heckmondwike, the pulpit of which became vacant through the recent resignation of the former minister.

SEAMEN'S CHRISTIAN FRIEND SOCIETY.—The annual sermon on behalf of this mission was preached on Sunday, May 13, by the Rev. Samuel Cowdy, LL.D., of Camberwell, at the Institution in St. George-street, London Dock. The thirty-first annual meeting was held on the following Tuesday in the same place, and was largely attended by seamen and others. Colonel H. J. Brockman presided, and was supported by the Revs. G. M. Murphy, J. M. Erskine, G. Davenport, M.A., Joseph Fletcher, J. De Kewer Williams, G. M. Butler, T. B. Barker, and others. The proceedings were opened with prayer by the Rev. J. M. Erskine, of Bow Presbyterian Church, and after a short address by the Chairman, an abstract of the report was read by the secretary (the Rev. J. Hill), and from this it appeared that the income had increased, and the work had been much blessed. During the year the missionaries had held 1,435 meetings with seamen in Bethels on shore, in the open air and on ships afloat, in the ports of London, Liverpool, Ramsey (Isle of Man), Whitehaven, Workington, and Maryport; 8,999 visits had been made to ships' crews and sailors' homes and families—and 123,124 English and foreign tracts, periodicals, and books, together with 688 bibles and testaments, had been distributed. About 14,000 sailors had frequented the reading-room and library, and 290 children had attended the schools and Band of Hope. The receipts for the year had been £1,003 19*s.* 1*d.*, and expenditure £974 19*s.* 1*d.* The adoption of the report was supported by the Rev. J. Fletcher, of Commercial-road Baptist Chapel, Rev. G. M. Murphy, of Borough-road Congregational Church, and the Rev. G. Davenport, M.A., incumbent of St. Mark's, Whitechapel, and it was unanimously carried. Earnest appeals on the society's behalf were also made by several other gentlemen, and the proceedings closed with a vote of thanks to the chairman.

THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE.—A meeting of the friends of the Alliance was held on Thursday in the rooms of the National Club, Whitehall, under the presidency of Lord Waverley. Devotional services were conducted by the Rev. Prebendary Anderson, of Bath, and the Rev. Dr. Lindsay Alexander, of Edinburgh. The chairman in his opening address expressed the sincere pleasure it afforded him to preside on the present occasion, and gave a cordial welcome to the foreign visitors who that day had attended. He could not think of the operations of the Alliance during the past year without coming to the conclusion that it had done real Christian service both at home and abroad, and he trusted their meeting would be eminently helpful in advancing the aims of which the Evangelical Alliance had never lost sight. The Rev. James Davis, secretary, gave a report of recent transactions of the society both at home and abroad, referring especially to the lately formed European confederation for the better observance of the Lord's Day on the Continent, which had been commenced by friends of the Alliance in Geneva. New branches of the Alliance had been formed in Egypt, and Spain, and elsewhere. Reference was also made to the help which the society had afforded in obtaining redress for those who were being persecuted for the profession of their Christian principles. It was announced that the next annual conference will be held in Oxford, and that the next general meeting of Christians of all nations will, at the present arranged, be held in Basle in 1878, on the invitation of the Swiss branch of the Alliance. The Rev. A. M. W. Christopher hoped they should see many of the foreign members of the Alliance at Oxford, as the University was a place of great interest to all. He thought Oxford would also be benefited by their exhibition of the truth that the Gospel was the only foundation of Christian union. General Fisk testified to the activity and beneficial effect of the Alliance in all the chief cities of America. Father Gasazzi regretted that in Italy they had at present no building to which they could invite the Alliance to hold a conference. The meeting was subsequently addressed by Dr. Kalopothakes, from Athens, the Rev. A. W. Farnsworth, of the churches in Cappadocia and Pontus, and Mr. Heilberg, from Sweden. A vote of thanks to the noble chairman, moved by Mr. Donald Matheson, and seconded by the Hon. Strange Jocelyn, was carried.

TURKISH MISSIONS AID SOCIETY.—The annual meeting of this society was held at Willis's Rooms, on May 3. Lord Ebury being prevented by illness from presiding, the chair was taken by Donald Matheson, Esq. After the reading of the report by the Rev. Dr. Blackwood and the Rev. H. Jones, the meeting was addressed by the Rev. Donald Fraser, D.D., the Rev. Dr. Lansing, American missionary at Cairo, John Eliot Howard, Esq., F.R.S., the Rev. E. Porter, Reading, the Rev. J. Davis, Secretary of the Evangelical Alliance, the Rev. Dr. Waddington, who has lately returned from the East, the Rev. Dr. Kalopothakes, of Athens, the Rev. Alexander King, the newly-

appointed association secretary of the society, and Pastor Ohan Kizakian, from Adana, near Tarsus. There were also present the Rev. Dr. Ayerst, of the London Jews' Society, Major-General C. J. Cooke, Dr. F. Tomkins, the Rev. J. Jones of Huddersfield, W. M. Mather, Edward White, Robert Ashton, Anton Tien, W. Wingate, J. G. Tipper, Dr. D. H. White, of the Freedmen's Mission Society, and several other clergymen. The report presented an array of deeply-interesting facts concerning the openings for missionary labourers and the progress of Protestantism in various parts of the Turkish and Persian Empires, and stated that grants and remittances to the amount of 5,103*l.* had recently been sent to the various missions aided by the society. After the adoption of the report, the two following resolutions were unanimously passed by the meeting:—"1. That in view of the present crisis in the Turkish Empire, and the perils and difficulties in which the missionaries and native churches are likely to be involved by the war, this meeting believes the Christians of this country to be solemnly called to the exercise of largely increased liberality in aid of this society's work. 2. That a special meeting be shortly convened in St. James's Hall, to which representatives of all the Protestant churches shall be invited, with a view of eliciting an adequate expression of the sympathy of British Christians on behalf of the important object of the society and that a special appeal be issued by the committee for funds to meet the necessities of the missions so likely to be increased by the calamities of war." Much interest was awakened by the recent intelligence from the East presented by Dr. Lansing, of Cairo, Dr. Kalopothakes, of Athens, Dr. Waddington, Pastor Kizakian, of Adana, near Tarsus (whose speech was interpreted by the Rev. Anton Tien), and the meeting was closed with a very earnest appeal by the Rev. Alexander King, whose special efforts will be directed to the formation of auxiliary associations for the promotion of this object.

Correspondence.

THE EASTERN POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—The Eastern Question has entered on a new phase, so far as we are concerned, in consequence of the late debates. We now perfectly understand our position. We know there is a party in the Cabinet, in the House of Commons, and in the country, which was, and probably still is, bent on involving us in a war with Russia, in defence of the so-called "British interests" in the East. That party has been chained and muzzled by the events of the week before last; and for the present we are safe. Perhaps we do not even yet fully recognise how much we owe to Mr. Gladstone in this matter. For my own part, I confess, until I read Lord Derby's despatch in answer to Prince Gortschakoff's Circular, I thought Mr. Gladstone's Resolutions unnecessary, ill-timed, and impracticable; in short, a blunder. Perhaps, in one sense, they were a blunder—a tactical blunder. Mr. Gladstone has himself confessed that he is no great tactician. But there are some "blunders" which heaven itself commends and crowns. Mr. Plimsoll made one, when, on a memorable occasion, he outraged all the rules of Parliamentary decorum—but carried his point. Mr. Gladstone's blunder was of this kind; and, I think, it is a cause for thankfulness and pride that we have a statesman who, deeply impressed with the incalculable importance of the ends he had in view, would pursue those ends regardless of the consequences to his party or to his own political reputation. Mr. Gladstone, like Mr. Plimsoll, has virtually carried his point, notwithstanding the overwhelming majority against him.

I do not mean to imply that the danger is altogether removed, although it is for the moment averted. Lord Beaconsfield is a man (and we do not conceal that our fears centre almost wholly in him) who pursues his aims with singular penetration and persistency; and if he indeed entertains the designs which have been attributed to him with too much appearance of truth, he is not likely to relinquish them because they have received a signal check. The greatest vigilance—and, at the same time, the greatest prudence—will be required to keep us from being involved in engagements which the conscience of the country would condemn, and from embarrassing the Government by undue and ill-timed pressure. The situation is indeed an exceedingly difficult one. On the one hand, scarcely anyone doubts that both interest and duty would impel us, at any rate, to help in keeping Russia out of Constantinople, and perhaps in preventing her from gaining any considerable accession of territory in Europe, should she attempt to do so. She disclaims any such desire, and the dangers involved in such a course are so

great and so evident that those least disposed to believe in the sincerity of Russia may take her word in this particular. Still the possibility exists, and concerns us as a possibility; and, in order to guard against it, it is necessary that proper consideration should be shown to the wishes of our probable allies. On the other hand, we cannot subordinate our convictions of right and wrong to the policy of the Austrian or any other Government; and under the plea of "British interests," as the late debates have only too clearly demonstrated, all that we most dread may be brought upon us. One thing is plain. We must have no more secrecy; no more mystery, if we can help it. Lord Derby has said lately that he thinks that "plain speaking is very good diplomacy." He probably said this in indirect defence of his scolding despatch in reply to Prince Gortschakoff; and, thus read, the aphorism contains an ambiguity worthy of a Protocol. Plain-speaking is often admirable diplomacy, if it means simple and clear definition of a government's aims and intentions; and so Lord Derby would find it now, and very good home policy too, if he could but be induced to practice it. But plain-speaking in the sense of "speaking your mind," "saying exactly what you think," and so on, is very bad diplomacy, when such frankness can do no good and may do an immense deal of harm. It is to be hoped Lord Derby's conduct during the present complications will be distinguished by "plain-speaking" in the former sense, and that Parliament and the public will have the benefit of it.

Our position is clearly defined, and I believe the Liberal party is nearly at one on this basis. We object to go to war to keep Russia out of Constantinople single-handed (remote as we consider the danger of her attempting to get, or, at any rate, to retain, possession of that city), and this, as a mere matter of common-sense, because it concerns Austria more than ourselves, and Germany nearly as much; and these Powers must intervene to prevent this result, unless we are disposed to take their fighting off their hands—an arrangement in which they would, no doubt, gladly acquiesce. We object to any form of intervention which would involve alliance with Turkey, because this would practically mean that we should fight for the maintenance of her sovereign and uncontrolled dominion over the provinces she has so cruelly misgoverned, which is a course, we believe, no considerations of apparent expediency could justify, and which we will therefore oppose, if it is attempted, by every means in our power. Within these limits Lord Derby will, I believe, receive the cordial support of the Liberal party.

Yours, &c.,

A LIBERAL.

THE ELECTION FOR MONTGOMERYSHIRE BOROUGHES.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—The Liberals—and principally the Nonconformists—of these boroughs have achieved a signal triumph in the return to the House of Commons, by a majority of 329, of the Hon. F. Hanbury Tracy, in place of his brother, who has succeeded to the title of Lord Sudeley. The candidate chosen by the Tory party was Lord Castlereagh, the son of the Marquis of Londonderry, who owns large estates in the county. In this choice the Tories manifested their usual astuteness, for the influences which their candidate brought to bear were of the most powerful character. All possible territorial, social, and political agencies were at once set to work, and not a stone was left unturned by the party. But, in spite of all that the Tories could do, the Liberals have won the seat by a larger majority than they ever commanded before.

As I only arrived in Newtown on the evening preceding the poll, my observations were restricted to the thick of the fight, and on what I witnessed a few notes are offered to the readers of the *Nonconformist*. And first, Mr. Tracy, the Liberal candidate, gave a very prominent place in his address to the question of disestablishment. He said,—

I hold the Conservative Burial Bill to be a challenge to all true Liberals and to those of the Principality in particular, and I would gladly see it treated as such by you. And then the apparent levity with which a most powerful Government can thus treat a question touching the most sacred feelings of Welsh Nonconformists strengthens my opinion that a larger measure of religious liberty and equality must before long be secured to them. I see no reason why a measure considered to be just in the interests of the Roman Catholics of Ireland and found to be both safe and successful there should be denied to the loyal and Protestant Dissenters of Wales. As a member of the Church of England, I believe that her position in Wales may be left to rest upon the piety and the love of her own people.

Now, on these issues, the battle was fought and won. Again, as an onlooker, I was struck with the fact that whilst a few Churchmen nobly aided Mr. Tracy, the bulk and the great power of his supporters were found amongst the Nonconformists. In Newtown, for instance, where his largest vote was obtained, the fight was almost entirely one of Nonconformists *versus* the State Church party. And surely a more able and energetic set of leaders it would be difficult to find than the men who won the battle in this and the other boroughs on behalf of religious equality and Liberalism. Against them were arrayed all the great magnates and clergy of the county, but by a bold and energetically conducted line of action the Liberals secured a glorious triumph.

In proof of the energy and thoroughness with which the work was carried out on both sides it may be stated that in Newtown, out of 859 voters 809 were polled, and out of a total of 2,914 on the register in all the contributory boroughs no less than 2,594 were polled. This is, I believe, one of the most remarkable cases on record of the exhaustion of the voting power of a constituency. The Nonconformist ministers have taken an active and influential part, and have rendered great service. Among those who have aided, I may venture to mention the Rev. Josiah Jones, J. Foulkes Jones; Thomas Evans, of Merthyr; C. Croft, of Newtown; and G. W. Humphreys, of Wellington, Somerset. Another remarkable feature was the order and quiet which everywhere prevailed. There was no drunkenness, no rioting. As the *Oswestry Advertiser* says, "On the whole, the men of Montgomeryshire, both Whig and Tory, have proved the truth of *Punch's* words about Taffy:—

If all Victoria's subjects
Were half as good as thou,
Victoria's subjects would kick up
Uncommon little row."

I trust the Liberals will now prepare to contest the county, which has, for time immemorial, been kept as a preserve by the powerful houses of Powis Castle and Wynnstay.

Yours truly,

A NONCONFORMIST.

IRREGULAR EVANGELISTIC AGENCIES.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

DEAR SIR,—Will you allow me just a word in reference to the Rev. John Foster's paper, read at the last meeting of the Congregational Union? The writer admits that a considerable amount of evangelistic work is done outside the Christian churches, and says that the world "will grow doubtful, and not unnaturally, if what professes to be the bread of life is broken to it by dirty hands." This amounts to a very serious charge against what are called irregular agencies. Does Mr. Foster mean morally "dirty"? If so, the sooner we know to whom reference is made the better, so that such offenders may be taught a more excellent way. But if it is meant ecclesiastically "dirty," i.e., not ordained, or not in the "Apostolical succession," I would venture to remind Mr. Foster that there is a large section of Christ's Church which strongly contends that no Nonconformist minister is ecclesiastically clean; and to me it is a lamentable sign of the times that Mr. Foster's views in this matter should not have been challenged at once. His paper reminds me very much of the spirit of that Apostle who came to Christ and said, "Lord, we saw a man casting out devils in Thy name, but we forbade him, because he followed not us." The only claim any man has to preach the Gospel is that he is moved by the Holy Ghost, and if such a one feel he can best do the work in another than the routine way, why not bid such a one God-speed, instead of trying to damp his zeal? To my mind these extra or irregular agencies have been doing a blessed work, and are really the result, to a large extent, of the deadness of so many churches. I think it was Paul who said, "Woe is unto me if I preach not the Gospel." I thank God there are hundreds who are now feeling that same impulse, and who cannot and will not be bound by the fetters, even of Nonconformist churches.

At the same meeting a minister from Leicester inquired if anything was known of the results of Moody and Sankey's labours. Why doubt the efficacy of their work any more than the efficacy of any minister's work? I know of happy results arising from it. I may be wrong, but there seems to me about Mr. Foster's paper an air of sacerdotalism which is not becoming a Nonconformist minister. At one of the meetings of the London Congregational Union, where very much the same spirit ran through a paper read by Mr. Bevan, I ventured to express an opinion that to secure larger results for the Gospel outside the churches, it would be better if,

instead of isolated Congregational action, churches of different denominations should form a united committee, map out a convenient area, and then work it regardless of what section of the Church might be the gainer. I feel persuaded some such arrangement would meet a pressing necessity of the times, and that it would present to the world an example of unselfish effort that would go a great way in removing some of the barriers to the spread of the Gospel.

I am, dear Sir, yours very truly,

WILLIAM GREEN.

Bishopwood House, Highgate, May 16, 1877.

HOSPITAL SUNDAY FUND.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—At a recent meeting of the General Purposes Committee of the Hospital Sunday Fund, it was stated that there are 350 Nonconformist places of worship within the radius contemplated by the fund in which no collection has been made on "Hospital Sunday." The list is now before me, and contains the names of 193 Baptist chapels, 143 Congregational, and 16 Wesleyan. Other denominations are not mentioned, and I do not know in what proportion they or the Episcopal churches have failed to contribute. But I confess I was not a little ashamed to find so many of my "fellow religionists," as the phrase goes, defaulters in this great charitable movement. In answer to Sir Sydney Waterlow's inquiry as to the cause, I could give no explanation. I ventured, indeed, to say that some of the places named in the list are small, and have scarcely an existence, that some are very distant from the centre, and that most of them have heavy burdens of their own to bear. But making all allowance that can be reasonably demanded, I venture to submit to my brethren, ministers and deacons, whether they have done their duty in this matter. I know full well the difficulty of making room for a new collection, but I feel the most perfect confidence that no congregation would grudge an appeal on behalf of our hospitals, how inconvenient soever the time of making it might be. Let the case be stated from the pulpit without any urgency, if urgency be inopportune, and the opportunity given to those who have the means and the heart—no one can complain, I think no one will—and the result will be a very considerable gain to the fund. I speak from experience. We in the East of London have great burdens to bear, and a painfully diminishing power to bear them. But last year, although Hospital Sunday was the Sunday following what I am justified in calling a most exhausting effort by my congregation and our neighbours, the climax of the efforts of many preceding months, we made our collection as usual for the Hospital Fund, and it amounted to £35. I think my people would have felt aggrieved if they had been excluded from this "Holy Alliance." And I have no idea that they are better than other people. Let ministers and deacons have faith in their brethren, and they will not be disappointed.

June 17th is very near at hand, but there is still time to make the necessary arrangements. Five minutes' consultation in the vestry, and then a letter to the secretary of the fund at the Mansion House, will secure all the information which the preacher or the congregation may need. Should but twenty shillings be the result, it will be an expression of sympathy with this great and good work.

I am, your obedient servant,

JOHN KENNEDY.

Stepney Green, May 21, 1877.

P.S.—On referring to last year's report, I find that collections were made for the fund in 646 Episcopal Churches, 82 Roman Catholic, 78 Baptist, 123 Congregational, 89 Wesleyan, 27 Methodist Free Church, 16 Primitive Methodist, 33 Presbyterian, and 26 Jewish Synagogues, besides various smaller sections of the community. It will be observed that the Wesleyans have set us a noble example; 89 collecting, while only 16 do not collect.

THE PROPOSED NEW BISHOPRICS.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—I am reluctant to trespass upon your space just now, when so many matters of special interest and importance are likely to engage your attention, but I should like, with your permission, just to point out that the "Bill for the Increase of the Episcopate" now before the House of Commons is likely in its indirect results to be no less valuable than the "Bill for the Abolition of Patronage in the Church of Scotland," and others that may easily be recalled to mind, in giving a fresh impetus to the great aim of the Liberation Society. Each additional bishopric created tends, in some degree,

at least, to lessen the dignity and prestige usually associated with the present occupants of the episcopal bench; and as each one has a smaller income attaching to it, and is, moreover, without a seat in the House of Peers, except by rotation, the new bishops will probably be looked upon as of rather an inferior status or genus, if I may use the word, than the others. When the present bill has passed into law there will be altogether seven bishops without seats in the House of Lords; and it is probable that as people begin to see how much more time the new prelates will be able to devote to the more effectual supervision of their dioceses, the demand for the relief of the overworked and much-enduring spiritual peers from the burden of their political and legislative functions will have gained a strength that it will be as impossible to ignore as it will be difficult to resist. For my part, I should view with perfect equanimity the creation of a hundred new bishoprics, as I am of opinion that the inevitable tendency of all such legislation must be to hasten the downfall of the Established Church in this country.

I am, Sir, faithfully yours,
ALFRED W. GOODMAN.
London, May 12, 1877.

Epitome of News.

Her Majesty, accompanied by the other members of the Royal family, arrived at Balmoral Castle on Saturday afternoon, and after a short rest the Queen and Princess Beatrice drove out in an open carriage from Balmoral Castle, and paid a round of calls at the cottages of the tenants on the Royal estates in the neighbourhood of the Castle. On Sunday Divine service was conducted within the Castle by the Rev. W. Campbell, parish minister, in the presence of Her Majesty, Princess Beatrice, and Prince Leopold. The weather in the north is exceedingly cold. Snow lies deep on the hills.

The Princess of Wales is expected at Marlborough House in a few days on her return from visiting her brother, the King of the Greeks.

Prince Albert Victor and Prince George of Wales were examined at the Royal Naval College at Greenwich last week precisely in the same manner as ordinary candidates for naval cadetships. Both Princes passed a very satisfactory examination, and in some of the subjects exhibited a more than usual degree of proficiency.

The Queen is said to be strongly opposed to war. Her Majesty personally has such a horror of fighting that nothing but extreme provocation would induce her to consent to this nation plunging into hostilities, and she is said to have plainly told her opinions to Lord Beaconsfield.

The Duchess of Edinburgh is to leave London for Coburg to-morrow, and is expected to make some stay there.

The Queen has expressed her desire that some adequate provision should be made for the Misses De Foe, the lineal descendants of the author of "Robinson Crusoe," and Her Majesty has been pleased to direct that a pension of £75 per annum should be granted to each of these three ladies.

Herr Richard Wagner had the honour to be presented to Her Majesty at Windsor Castle on Thursday afternoon.

It is stated that the Home Rule members of Parliament have agreed to desist from obstructive proceedings, the Government having consented to endeavour to bring on the discussion of Mr. Butt's Irish University Bill shortly after the Whitsuntide holidays, and to make other concessions.

Midhat Pasha arrived at Folkestone on Monday evening from Boulogne, and proceeded to London by the tidal train.

Mr. Gladstone has written a letter to Mr. Henry Broadhurst, saying that he should ever recollect with lively pleasure how vivid and genial an energy the people of this country have exhibited to the recent movement in Parliament, and how they have shown their constancy in the sound views on the Eastern Question which they had previously adopted.

Replying to a gentleman at Leigh, who had expressed regret at his declining to support Mr. Gladstone's five resolutions on the Eastern Question, and stating that the nature of his views thereon were to many a matter of self-interest, Mr. Bright says, "There are times when much might be said, when, notwithstanding, it may be wise to be silent. Whether I was wise to remain silent during the recent debate I must be allowed to be the most competent judge. I am sorry not to be able to send you a more satisfactory reply."

Sir Wilfrid Lawson's Permissive Bill is appointed for the second reading on Wednesday, June 27, when Mr. Wheelhouse will move that it be read a second time that day six months.

In reply to a deputation of cattle salesmen, butchers, and others, on Friday, the Duke of Richmond and Gordon held out no hope of any modification being made in the rules affecting the sending of cattle to the London markets. They would not, however, be continued in force a moment longer than was necessary.

The failure is announced of the Earl of Perth. His lordship's liabilities are stated at 16,000l.; his assets are unknown.

The Cambridge University Union, after an exciting debate on Tuesday night, rejected, by 172 to 103, a motion that the Government would be justified in opposing by force of arms the aggressive action of Russia.

The Manchester Board of Guardians are paying the school fees of 200 children.

At the weekly meeting on Wednesday of the London School Board, it was resolved to borrow a further sum not exceeding 90,000l., making up to the present time 2,491,580l. to be borrowed in all from the Public Works Loan Commissioners. The superintendents of visitors were authorised to recommend the remission of fees in certain cases, and thereby retain the children in school until the matter shall have been brought before the divisional committees. The works committee were instructed to secure a building for a truant school capable of accommodating fifty boys. The board adjourned till June 6.

The *Liverpool Courier* says the estate of the late Mr. John Pemberton Heywood, head of the banking firm of Arthur Heywood, Sons, and Company, who died a few days ago, will be proved under two millions and a-half sterling. He left no children, and the bulk of his property will go to his nearest relatives. Another paper states that Mr. Arthur Lonsdale, one of the nephews of the deceased, has a bequest of a million sterling, besides being residuary legatee, and with the reversion of Cloverley Hall Estate, after the death of Mrs. Heywood.

The members of the Senate of the Cambridge University have received from the syndicate appointed to conduct the higher local examinations a report to the effect that the examination in religious knowledge is shirked by a large proportion of the candidates. They recommend that a change be made, so that this examination shall affect the general success of the candidates.

A homeopathist named Thomas Howard was sued on Friday in the Acorington County Court, at the instance of the Society of Apothecaries, London, to recover the penalty incurred by defendant in visiting and prescribing for patients. The defendant was ordered to pay 20l. and costs.

A serious accident occurred at a gala held in Hull on Friday. While a large balloon was being filled with gas it rose and struck against an object near. A rent was made in the silk, and the escaping gas ignited at an open grate of a pea-stall. An explosion followed, and several persons were burnt, about half-a-dozen seriously. Great alarm was caused by the occurrence, and by the uncertainty as to the identity and number of persons injured.

The *Mark Lane Express* states that during the past week vegetation has made rapid progress under the combined influence of warmth and moisture.

Earl Russell received on Thursday at Pembroke Lodge a large deputation representing the Working Men's Union. In an address which the venerable statesman had prepared, but whose delivery he was compelled by increasing feebleness to entrust to Mr. Pratt, he said that he had endeavoured throughout a long political life to work for the benefit of all classes of his countrymen. Every means, he said, by which more power in the State had been given to the working classes had justified the hopes of those who had fought their battles, "and given the lie to the fears of those who foretold from each reform the downfall of the Constitution and the ruin of the country." Education would direct the people in the path of peaceful progress, and teach them "by the timely removal of rotten beams to preserve the grand old edifice of the British Constitution." The noble earl reminded working men that although much may be done for them, much more can be done by them in regard to their social and political improvement. The deputation gave three cheers for "Grand old Lord John."

If the war has raised the price of corn, says the *Liverpool Post*, it is gratifying to know that so far there is no diminution in the supply from abroad. Yesterday it was stated at the dock board meeting that the grain warehouses at Waterloo are full to overflowing, and that several wheat-laden vessels are waiting to discharge their cargoes.

Five consignments of fresh meat were landed at Liverpool from America and Canada during last week, amounting in all to 7,959 quarters of beef and 350 whole sheep.

The South Durham Iron Company, Darlington, have suspended payment. The company have forty-three blast furnaces. The parties owning the property mostly live out of the district. The circular to the creditors states that there will be more than sufficient to meet all demands when the large stock of pig iron in hand is realised.

On Saturday 7,000 men, including carpenters and joiners, were dismissed from the Clyde ship-building yards. Some of them have left for Jarrow, Newcastle, and Belfast. At a meeting of the shipwrights on Monday night, it was resolved to agree, as proposed by neutral parties, to submit the dispute to arbitration.

A demonstration of farm labourers was held on Monday afternoon on Ham-hill, Montacute, Somersetshire, Mr. George Mitchell presiding. Mr. Arch advocated the claims of the Labourers' Union, and urged the men to support it.

A poll of the Northumberland miners on the question of a wages dispute has shown that eleven-twelfths of the men are in favour of a strike. The men will come out next Monday. About 25,000 men and boys are employed in the district.

The mysterious death of Mrs. Harriet Staunton, at Penge, has been the subject of a protracted investigation. On Saturday the jury found a verdict

of "Wilful murder" against the husband of the deceased lady, Louis Staunton; Patrick Staunton, his brother; Mrs. Patrick Staunton; and Alice Rhodes, her sister. The coroner at once issued his warrant for the apprehension of these persons, who were all taken into custody on Saturday evening. The allegations point to death from starvation and neglect.

In the annual report of Sir W. H. Medhurst, our Consul in Shanghai, he states that Indian tea is beating Chinese out of the market so rapidly that unless some change is made in the cultivation or in the mode of packing, it is only a question of time when China will be altogether ousted from the field. Fifteen years ago the growth of tea in India was regarded as an experiment; but the industry has so increased that in 1875 the export from Calcutta was 25,000,000 pounds. The export from China in the same season amounted to 212,000,000 pounds, four millions less than in the previous year, and that had shown a falling off as compared with the year before.

The result of the Tipperary election is the triumphant return of the Home Rule candidate. Mr. Gray received 3,852 votes, and Casey (Nationalist) 1,344.

The result of the polling for the Montgomery boroughs was as follows:—Hon. F. Hanbury-Tracy, 1,447; Viscount Castlereagh, 1,118; majority for the Liberal candidate, 329.

The British ironclads have now returned to the Pireus, except the *Hotspur*, which remains at Port Said. The Duke of Edinburgh and his suite left Cairo on Saturday.

NEWS FROM CENTRAL AFRICA.—By the kindness of Messrs. Grey, Dawes, and Co., the committee of the Church Missionary Society have just learned (says the *Record*) that two members of their Victoria Nyanza mission party, Messrs. Wilson and O'Neill, reached Wagheyi, on the Lake on the 29th of January. Lieut. Shergold Smith, with Dr. Smith, were, on the 9th of February, still at Nguru, waiting for porters to carry forward the remainder of the material of the expedition. Letters have also been received from Zanzibar stating that messengers had come from King Mtesa asking protection from the Egyptians who were about to eat them up. On this point, however, we may remark that an assurance was given by Colonel Gordon that nothing would be done in his absence, and letters from him have been recently received, dated Keren, Abyssinia, March 27, stating that he had succeeded in arranging matters with King Johannes, and was about to return to Khartoum. We may hope, therefore, that the inquiry of our Government as to the plan of annexation credited to Egypt in the region of the Victoria Nyanza may result in relieving King Mtesa of his fears of being eaten up by the Egyptians.

THE HANDEL FESTIVAL.—The sixth triennial Handel festival will take place at the Crystal Palace towards the end of June. On Friday, the 22nd, there will be the usual grand rehearsal; on Monday, the 25th, the *Messiah* will be performed. Wednesday, the 27th, will be devoted to a miscellaneous selection from the lesser works of the great composer, and on the following Friday the performance of *Israel in Egypt* will bring the musical festival to a close. As on previous occasions, Sir Michael Costa will throughout be the conductor. Madame Adelina Patti, Mademoiselle Albani, Madame Lemmens-Sherrington, Miss Edith Wynne, Madame Patey, Mr. Edward Lloyd, Mr. Vernon Rigby, Mr. Cummings, Signor Foli, Herr Henschel, and Mr. Santley, have been already engaged. The solo organ performance will be by Mr. Best, of St. George's Hall, Liverpool; Mr. Willing will play the organ part in the great oratorios. The organisation for gathering and receiving the immense chorus and band of instrumentalists, together numbering 4,000 executants, is very complete. Almost every county sends up its best-trained voices, drawn from all the cathedral choirs, and from local choral societies, to represent it at the gathering. All the resources of the Sacred Harmonic Society are being put into requisition, so that the fullest complement of band and chorus may not only be reached numerically, but that they may be constituted entirely of chosen and perfectly trained members, such as no other means, perhaps, could bring together.

DR. DE JONGH'S LIGHT-BROWN COD LIVER OIL.—ITS UNEQUALLED EFFICACY IN DISEASES OF THE THROAT.—Sir G. Duncan Gibb, Bart., M.D., LL.D., Physician and Lecturer on Forensic Medicine, Westminster Hospital, author of various works on Diseases of the Throat and Larynx, writes:—"The experience of many years has abundantly proved the truth of every word said in favour of Dr. de Jongh's Light-Brown Cod Liver Oil by many of our first Physicians and Chemists, thus stamping him as a high authority and an able Chemist whose investigations have remained unquestioned. Its value, therefore, as a therapeutic agent in a number of diseases, chiefly of an exhaustive character, has been admitted by the world of medicine; but, in addition, I have found it a remedy of great power in the treatment of many Affections of the Throat and Larynx, especially in Consumption of the latter, where it will sustain life when everything else fails. Dr. de Jongh's Light-Brown Cod Liver Oil has an agreeable flavour, is very palatable, and liked by children; hence its value in the third stage of Hooping-Cough, when it acts as a restorative and tonic." Dr. de Jongh's Light-Brown Cod Liver Oil is sold only in capsuled imperial half-pints, 2s. 6d.; pints, 4s. 9d.; quarts, 9s.; with his stamp and signature and the signature of his sole consignees on the capsule and the label under wrapper, by all chemists. Sole consignees, Ansar, Harford, and Co., 77, Strand, London.—[ADVT.]

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EVANGELICAL CONTINENTAL SOCIETY.

The ANNUAL MEETING of the above Society will be held (D.V.) on TUESDAY EVENING, May 29th, at HARE COURT CHAPEL, Canonbury.

DONALD MATHESON, Esq., will preside, and the meeting will be addressed by Signor Gavazzi, from Rome, Pastor Durier, from Geneva, and the Revs. Dr. Manning (Secretary of the Religious Tract Society), Edward White, and R. Vaughan Pryce, M.A., LL.B.

Chair to be taken at 7 o'clock.

BRITISH and FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The ANNUAL MEETING will be held at the CANNON STREET HOTEL on FRIDAY EVENING, June 1st.

HENRY PEASE, Esq.,

(of Darlington) will take the Chair at 7 o'clock.

The Hon. Evelyn Ashley, M.P.; Mark J. Stewart, Esq., M.P.; Ferjeant Simon, M.P.; Edward Young, Esq., R.N., of the Livingstonia Mission on Lake Nyassa; Rev. John Kennedy, D.D.; Rev. Joseph Mullens, D.D., Foreign Secretary of London Missionary Society; Edward Jenkins, Esq., M.P.; Alderman William McArthur, M.P.; Samuel Bowly, Esq.; and other Gentlemen, will address the Meeting.

Admission by Ticket, to be had at the Offices, 27, New Broad Street.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

A PUBLIC MEETING will be held at ST. JAMES'S HALL, on FRIDAY, June 1st, in support of Mr. Jacob Bright's Bill to Enfranchise Women Ratepayers.

The Chair will be taken at 8.30 p.m. by Lord HOUGHTON.

Miss Lillias Ashworth, Mrs. Ashford, Miss Becker, Dr. Cameron, M.P., Leonard Courtney, Esq., M.B., Joseph Cowen, Esq., M.P., W. Forsyth, Esq., Q.C., M.P., the Hon. Auberon Herbert, C. H. Hopwood, Esq., Q.C., M.P., Rev. Mark Pattison, J. H. Puleston, Esq., M.P., Sir Charles Reed, Miss Sturge, Lord Talbot de Malahide, Rev. Canon Wilberforce, and others are expected to be present.

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Rev. C. H. SPURGEON will preach at Twelve o'clock. A Cold Collation at Half-past Two. Tickets, 3s. 6d. each. James Duncan, Esq., will preside.

In the Evening, at Seven o'clock, a Sermon will be preached by the Rev. DONALD FRASER, D.D.

On THURSDAY EVENING, May 31st,

A PUBLIC MEETING will be held, at Seven o'clock. Chairman—W. HARRISON, Esq. Speakers: Revs. J. Angus, D.D., S. Manning, LL.D., A. Mursell, J. T. Wigner, J. Eassey, Esq., and the Pastor.

Tea will be provided at 5.30. Tickets, 1s. each.

Sunday, June 3—Rev. J. Aldis will preach. Morning at 11;

Evening at 6.30.

Wednesday, June 6—Rev. J. P. Chown will preach. Evening

at 7.

Sunday, June 10—Rev. H. Platten, of Birmingham, will

preach. Morning at 11; Evening at 6.30.

On TUESDAY, June 12th,

A SUNDAY-SCHOOL MEETING will be held at Seven o'clock. W. McARTHUR, Esq., M.P., will preside.

Wednesday, June 13—Rev. W. Braden, of Weigh House Chapel, will preach. Evening at 6.

Sunday, June 17—Rev. J. T. Brown (Chairman of the Baptist Union) will preach. Morning at 11; Evening at 6.30.

Wednesday, June 20—Rev. J. T. Wigner (Ex President of the London Baptist Association) will preach. Evening

at 7.

Sunday, June 24—Rev. A. G. Brown (President of the London Baptist Association) will preach. Morning

at 11. Rev J. Morlais Jones (Lewisham) will preach.

Evening at 6.30.

Wednesday, June 27—Rev. Richard Roberts (of Great Queen-street) will preach. Evening at 7.

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The Nonconformist.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 23, 1877.

SUMMARY.

THOUGH as yet the war between Russia and Turkey presents no very striking features, some important events have occurred during the past week. The first of these is the negotiations which have taken place with a view to localise the conflict. Though no binding engagement is either possible or desirable, it is understood that Gortschakoff has given such assurances relative to "British interests," and Austrian interests also, as have proved satisfactory to the Earl of Derby and Count Andrassy. The next important event is the declaration of independence by Roumania—the two Legislative Chambers at Bucharest having unanimously adopted a resolution declaring the suzerainty of the Porte at an end. This step was all but inevitable. Roumania has acted wisely to choose sides rather than to be crushed between the two belligerents. Her troops have been withdrawn to Little Wallachia, and will remain on the defensive. With regard to Servia, Russia, in order to satisfy the susceptibilities of the Vienna Government, has brought the utmost pressure upon Prince Milan and his Cabinet in order that they may observe a strict neutrality during the war. At Constantinople great apprehension is beginning to prevail. The Parliament is proving to be so troublesome in denouncing the incapacity of Mukhtar Pasha, the action of the Minister of War, Redif Pasha, and the incapacity and corruption which mark the military administration, that it is threatened with suspension. The Sheik-ul-Islam has proclaimed the holy war against Russia, which means we suppose that it is to become a struggle between Mahomedanism and Christianity, and is apparently intended to stimulate Moslem fanaticism in Europe and Asia. As the Sultan has just decreed that the Christian population shall be enlisted in his armies, this manifesto is hardly well-timed.

The Russian forces in Roumania continue to toil their weary way towards the Danube, and a considerable portion of them have now been concentrated at various points. The report that a body of troops had entered the Dobrukscha was unfounded. The Czar is expected at the Grand Duke's headquarters, near Bucharest, early in June, after which no doubt the advance will take place. With their greatly superior numbers the Russians will be able to cross the river with little resistance, and that, no doubt, is the object of the long delay in commencing active operations. It is probable that before long the Czar will have at his command in Roumania double the number of Turkish troops which are defending Bulgaria.

In the Black Sea the Porte has made good use of its superiority on the unstable element. Its ironclads have been bombarding the various forts and settlements on the Caucasian coast, and the Turkish troops which occupied Soukham Kaleb have been reinforced from Constantinople. The Circassian insurrection to co-operate with this movement does not, however, appear to be very formidable, though the information on the subject is very vague. Independent of the troops in Armenia, Russia has no lack of resources to deal with a partial

rebellion in this region, which will probably fail owing to the difficulty of concerted action. Notwithstanding the florid despatches of Mukhtar Pasha, matters are clearly going adversely against the Turks in Armenia. There has been a severe conflict at Ardahan, which fortified town, after the garrison had repelled repeated assaults, has been captured, with eighty pieces of artillery, by General Melikoff, who thus commands the main roads both to Erzeroum and Kars. This last-named fortress is being besieged with greater vigour; Batoum has also been cut off from the surrounding country; and altogether the campaign in Asia Minor is not only adverse to the Sultan, but promises to be short and decisive.

On Thursday last Paris witnessed what was in reality a *coup d'état*. On receiving a letter from Marshal MacMahon, which was a virtual dismissal, M. Jules Simon resigned his office as head of the Cabinet, and his colleagues followed his example, except General Berthaud, the Minister of War; while the Duc Decazes consented to remain at the Foreign Office at the urgent request of the President. It was soon found that everything was arranged beforehand to meet the emergency. A Ministry, with the Duc de Broglie as Premier, was forthwith installed. Before that was done the Chamber of Deputies met, and, at the suggestion of M. Gambetta, who spoke with great decision, passed a resolution by 355 against 154, asserting the principle of Ministerial responsibility, and declaring that the Chamber could only repose confidence in a Cabinet which was "free in its action, and resolved to govern in accordance with Republican principles, which can alone secure order and property at home and abroad." This vote was treated by the President with sovereign contempt. When the two Assemblies met next day, it was only to receive a message from the Marshal, read respectively by the Duc de Broglie and M. de Fourtou announcing that they were prorogued for a month. M. Simon was not allowed to speak, and a vote of want of confidence in the new Ministry could not even be read—the sittings terminating with the reading of the decree of prorogation. The President's Message declares that he has no intention of upsetting Republican institutions, nor of proposing any change, and calls attention to the fact that the foreign policy of the Government is still directed by the Duc Decazes. Thus, for a month at least, the two Chambers are dumb, and a reactionary Ministry has begun operations by dismissing or changing some eighty prefects, giving notice that meetings to condemn the Marshal's policy are illegal, and arranging to exclude, as far as possible, foreign newspapers that condemn their acts. The able and dignified protest of the majority of the Chamber of Deputies has received the signatures of two-thirds of its members, and a protest has also been adopted by a large number of Senators. Great rejoicing prevails at the Vatican; and although it has been given out that the new Ministry will not countenance Ultramontane agitation, the Italian Government are seriously disquieted. Prince Bismarck has hastily returned to Berlin and taken counsel of the Emperor, and the German troops occupying Alsace-Lorraine have been considerably reinforced.

We have not space to refer at length to the other events of the week. It will be seen that the main feature at the annual meeting of the Peace Society held last night was a speech from Mr. Richard, M.P., defining the position of himself and his friends in relation to the questions involved in the war.—There have been two elections during the week. In Tipperary the Home Rule candidate, Mr. Gray, of the *Freeman's Journal*, won an easy victory over his Nationalist antagonist. The result of the contest for the Montgomery boroughs may be regarded as a substantial Liberal victory, though it alters no vote in the House of Commons. How admirably it was won by the enthusiasm of Liberals and Nonconformists is explained by a correspondent elsewhere.—The great demonstration which is to take place next week at Birmingham during Mr. Gladstone's visit, promises to be a political event of first-rate importance, and can hardly fail to strengthen popular feeling against our taking sides with the Turks, and to give a new impulse and greater breadth to Liberal principles.—It is satisfactory to record that the annexation of the Transvaal Republic to the British dominions has had satisfactory results in every respect. It is highly approved by the Cape colonists; it has induced the Zulu chiefs, confiding in British equity, to abandon all thought of war; and it has been readily acquiesced in by the Boers themselves, who are to enjoy self-government while under the protection of the British flag.

MARSHAL MACMAHON, DICTATOR.

OF late years, the deadliest enemies of France have indisputably been the so-called "Party of Order." It was thought that these conspirators against the liberties of their country were disposed of four years ago, after the utter collapse of their intrigues to bring back the Legitimist Pretender. But, though they disappeared from the Cabinet and the Legislature, they never ceased their backstairs endeavours to pervert the mind of the credulous President. Though not seen, they have from time to time been felt, and have formed a secret Cabinet around Marshal MacMahon. Their persistency has at length been rewarded with a fatal success. In alliance with the Ultramontane party, which is, in fact, the entire Roman Catholic Church of France, they have arisen from the crushing defeat inflicted upon them at the last general election by the French constituencies; not, indeed, in consequence of any reaction of public opinion, but by the autocratic action of the President himself. Since Wednesday last, though evidently after much preparation, and by the express interposition of the military ruler of the French people, the Simon Ministry has, on a flimsy pretext, been rudely dismissed, though commanding an overwhelming majority in the Legislative Assembly; the Duc de Broglie, M. Fourtou, and other Monarchical and Clerical reactionists, have been installed in office; the two Chambers have been peremptorily prorogued for a month, their voice being gagged; and immediate and sweeping changes have been effected in administrative functionaries of the departments. As the Deputies of the Left say in their published protest, "a Cabinet which never lost its majority has been dismissed without debate." The real offences of M. Simon and his colleagues were that they were gradually consolidating the Republic on a secure foundation; that they had established a religious freedom to which for many years France had been a stranger; and that they strove to confine the all-powerful Romish hierarchy within limits compatible with the safety of the State. The Marshal might have dismissed the Simon Cabinet, and selected a Prime Minister of more moderate tendencies without being challenged, but his choice of the unrelenting enemies of the Republic indicates that the new Administration is to be "a Government of combat." There are many signs that the plot has been long maturing. It has been put in action with considerable energy. It was as the descent of a thunderbolt out of a clear sky.

The news of this ominous revolution has excited profound regret among all classes on this side of the Channel, and it is gratifying to find thorough-going Tory papers uniting with their Liberal contemporaries in reprobation of a transaction which has once more plunged France into political confusion. Indeed, this feeling of surprise and regret has found such general expression in every capital of Europe, that the new Minister of the Interior has begun to scheme how the scorching light from without can be excluded from France. There is only too much reason for this universal disquietude. The Marshal's declarations indicate not only a profound disregard of the elementary principles of Constitutional Government, but a settled determination that the country shall be ruled in accordance with his own views. *Sic volo, sic jubeo* is the spirit of this constitutional ruler. Marshal M'Mahon professes his intention of keeping within the strict letter of the law, and probably he will fulfil his intention. Nothing is easier than self-deception. Yet by his action during the past week he has notoriously violated the spirit of the Constitution. The course upon which he has entered is the same course which the Napoleons pursued before him; nor, though devoid of their ambition, is the Marshal likely to stop short of their excesses in crushing the Liberals whom he has now openly set at defiance. Whatever repression, proscription, and corruption are needful to gain his end, will be mercilessly used by his advisers and instruments.

Without any rational pretext, except to satisfy the reactionary cravings of the Duc de Broglie, and to further the interests of the Vatican, France has been cruelly and recklessly thrown back into what it was hoped was a forgotten era of repression and adventure never to be revived, by her most trusted soldier, and who, being unable to win her consent to his arbitrary policy, is bent upon obtaining a verdict in his favour by undisguised terrorism. All this has been done at a time when a great war of undefined limits is raging in Europe, when the relations of France with Germany are delicate and uneasy, and when plans are being matured for another great International Exhibition at Paris. From this fatal policy there is no drawing back. The utter defeat of the Marshal would necessi-

tate either a *coup d'état* or his resignation. He could not have done his country a greater wrong. The sole hope of national stability and progress lay in the exercise of that self-restraint and moderation which are only possible where free institutions exist. Under the auspices of M. Gambetta and his Liberal followers, France was learning the true art of Parliamentary Government, and that spirit of mutual toleration which consolidates it. The experiment has been suspended by the man who is in office as the President of the Republic, in order to see that it might fairly be carried out. It is impossible to doubt that through an act, which can only be properly stigmatised as a political crime, Marshal MacMahon has initiated a new cycle of revolutions for his unfortunate country.

No doubt the attachment to free institutions has grown strong among the French people during the last two or three years, and the dignified manifesto of the 361 protesting Deputies, headed by M. Thiers, cannot be easily put aside. But evidently it will be thrust aside, and probably with temporary success, by the political gamesters whom the Marshal has entrusted with power. The superstitious reverence for authority, the timid fear of disorder, is still strong in France. For two months at least—the Chambers having been prorogued for that purpose—the new Cabinet will rule unchecked, and use with unscrupulous energy the powerful and ramified machinery of a centralised government to stifle public opinion, to remove obnoxious functionaries in every department, to put down public meetings, and to gag the press. Under ordinary conditions this policy of terrorism might break down. But Marshal MacMahon is backed by an immense military force, and assisted by a huge army of fanatical priests. These resources of “the Government of combat,” backed up by the threat of the Marshal’s resignation, will hardly fail, we fear, under the peculiar circumstances of the French people, and after several months’ interval during which the Chambers will be speechless, to secure an electoral majority. It is of course possible that the Senate may refuse to consent to a dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies, in which event the Marshal will doubtless swallow his legal scruples, and make a direct appeal to the people *à la Napoleon*.

Such speculations are, however, premature. Unhappy France is reaping the fruits of the errors and follies of a melancholy past. She allowed the Napoleons to fasten upon her a centralised administrative machinery which is a ready tool in the hands of arbitrary rulers. She has endowed and given supremacy to a Church which instinctively allies itself with despotism, will tolerate no rivalry, and which hopes to enlist her in a wild crusade to restore the temporal power of the Papacy. She has been reorganising an immense military force with a view to ulterior objects, the command of which enables the President to violate with impunity the Constitution which with so much pains has been established to preserve the freedom of her citizens. Her protests will ere long be stifled with brutal violence by a dominant faction with whom Marshal MacMahon has entered into partnership to make the French Republic a hollow mockery. The ingenuity of Prince Bismarck could not have devised a more effectual plan for making France distracted at home and impotent abroad than the conspiracy to which the President has lent himself.

THE COUNTY FRANCHISE.

THE meeting of agricultural labourers at Exeter Hall, together with Mr. Bright’s speech from the chair, have gone far to determine the next step in political progress, for the achievement of which the Liberal party may be expected to unite its scattered forces. We say this, not because we attribute any unusually decisive influence to the meeting in itself, but because the elements of which it was composed proved the strength and permanence of the organisation it represented, and because the chairman’s speech presented the claims of that organisation in a form peculiarly calculated to carry conviction to all centres of Liberal political power throughout the country. Mr. Bright used no exaggerated language when he said that the Assembly was one of the most remarkable ever held in Exeter Hall. Out of the total number of delegates to whom cards of admission had been sent, two thousand were actually employed as labourers in agriculture. Of these upwards of a thousand were personally present; and when we think of the trouble and expense involved in collecting so many men from the agricultural districts—a trouble and expense not to be measured by the facility with which the middle classes leave their employments and run up to London on the slightest

occasion—we feel that the conference to which these men were invited must have represented objects very dear to the hearts of scores of thousands beyond themselves. Prominent amongst these objects was the extension of household suffrage to the counties. On this reform all the Liberal elements of municipal constituencies are already agreed; and it is impossible to doubt that the organised, persevering, and earnest demand of our less favoured fellow countrymen in the rural districts must exercise a very great, and probably decisive influence on the shape to be taken by the next progressive movement. Mr. Bright’s argument left nothing to be desired. It was complete, cogent, and unanswerable. It showed that not only were the agricultural labourers deliberately left outside the Constitution by the last extension of the franchise, but that this extension was itself in great degree a sham, the alleged objects of which were rendered nugatory by the action of the rating laws. The county franchise belongs to all who are rated at 12*l*. Now, this rarely, if ever, represents a rental of less than 16*l*., and often represents one considerably higher. Under the circumstances of the country districts this practically disfranchises all but small farmers and the middle-class inhabitants of rural towns. The next point in Mr. Bright’s argument was, that the practical effects of the wider franchise in towns justified us in expecting the happiest results from conferring the same privilege upon the country. The orator’s recital of the achievements wrought by the reformed Parliament certainly lacks the charm of novelty, but it was necessary for the completeness of his case, and was very effectively given. And it was all the more forcible because he was able to show that the improved legislation of the last half century has, with certain great exceptions, dealt principally with the needs of town populations, and left the rural districts encumbered with many relics of feudalism. The laws affecting the land, the game laws, the administration of justice in villages, remain substantially what they were fifty years ago, or have been altered for the worse. We may add that the recent Education Act could never have been passed if agricultural labourers had been able to influence the constitution of Parliament in a degree proportioned to their interest in the measure. As to the fitness of the labourer for constitutional rights, Mr. Bright argued with a pungent touch of his old grim humour, that the special advantage of a rich man, a lord, or a squire, living in the parish, and the influence of an instructed and pious minister of the Church ought not to leave any doubt on that score. And he concluded by an earnest appeal to the town populations not to leave their country brethren worse off than themselves.

There can, we think, be no doubt of the answer this appeal will receive. Certainly that section of the Liberal party with which we are specially connected will have no hesitation whatever. The only question we care to ask is, whether the proposal is politically just and sound; and on this point our opinions are not now to be formed for the first time. As to our own special interest in religious equality, we are too well assured that this principle must be furthered by all righteous reforms to have much care about precedence. Whatever may be the case with disestablishment—the certainty of which the clergy are ensuring without our aid—we believe that disendowment is likely to be much more thorough and just if it were carried out by a Parliament in which the poor of the rural parishes are fairly represented. But while the righteousness of the principle is sufficient to decide the issue in our minds, we are not over sanguine about the practical results immediately to be expected from the enfranchisement of a neglected and uninstructed class. The astute calculations of Lord Beaconsfield as to the first results of household suffrage in the towns have been fairly justified by the event. The consolation of Liberals lies in the fact that the franchise is itself an instrument of education, and that every increase of enlightenment develops some fresh portion of their now practically exhaustless political resources. We must expect the same thing in the country. That the agricultural labourers have many men amongst them stamped with individuality of character, and gifted with remarkable powers, has already been made abundantly clear. But experience also shows that the ballot does not affect the inviolable tendency of masses of uninstructed men to vote in accordance with unreasoning habits of obedience, and under the influence of social superstitions. In the strictly rural districts, therefore, the first effect of household suffrage would probably be to swell the number of obedient retainers, ready to do the bidding of the parson and the squire. On the other hand, there are, as Mr. Bright showed a very large

number of small towns, where thousands of the artisans and of the middle lower class are at present practically disfranchised. The Liberal gains in such places will go far to counteract, and even to reverse, the advantages that stolid Toryism may hope to obtain from the ignorance of farm servants; and under the influence of great political leaders like Joseph Arch, we may confidently believe that the rights of citizenship will be so used as to extend political enlightenment amongst the victims of ecclesiastical obscurantism, so that after the lapse of a few years the labourers will be as keenly alive to their own interests as the artisans in towns. When that day comes, the newly enfranchised class will be a powerful contingent in the attack on the ancient strongholds of ecclesiastical exclusiveness and injustice.

SKETCHES FROM THE GALLERY OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The various circumstances under which the two Houses of Parliament are accustomed to close their proceedings, were strikingly varied on the eve of Whitsuntide recess. At two o’clock on Friday morning the House of Commons, usually the scene of the greater excitement, quietly flickered out, after an evening which no stretch of imagination could regard as otherwise than dull. The House of Lords adjourned at eleven o’clock, after an evening of animated debate, and a division which is likely to prove what Mr. Cross would call a “landmark” in the history of a great question. You will probably deal elsewhere with the debate in the House of Lords, and I will only add that the scene at the time when the division on Lord Harrowby’s new clause was announced, was of a character not often witnessed in an unemotional assembly. Under any circumstances, a tie in a Parliamentary division is an exciting event, but it was specially so in this instance, where the deepest feeling was involved, and where the state of things brought about was practically nothing less than a defeat of an all-powerful Government on a question on which it might have been expected that the House of Lords would have been strictly Conservative.

The House of Commons had been engaged in discussion on a clause of the Universities Bill—a measure which has not gained that degree of attention at one time expected for it. There is to be a fight about the 18th clause, which deals with clerical headships, and which Sir Charles Dilke desired to have amended in fuller accordance with the more liberal spirit recent legislation has introduced into the Universities. The question is not, however, one about which any enthusiasm can be got up in the House. The proportion of University men in the present House is less than in any former one, and though the principle at issue is one that goes to the root of Liberalism, the borough members cannot be kept in attendance on the committee. Consequently it comes to pass that the discussion is maintained throughout the long evening by a maximum number of fifteen members. Mr. Gathorne Hardy has charge of the measure, and it could not be in better hands, for the right hon. gentleman, though naturally short of temper, and prone to fall *vi et armis* on any one who happens to differ from him, is always seen at his best in charge of a delicate piece of legislation.

On the same side of the House Mr. Beresford Hope, as member for one of the Universities and himself a university man of distinction, naturally takes a strong interest in the measure, and from time to time enlivens the proceedings with elephantine gambolling. Mr. Walpole has temporarily resumed his old position on the Treasury Bench, and assists, though somewhat feebly, in carrying through the measure. From a seat behind, Mr. Staveley Hill occasionally interposes, whilst below the gangway Mr. Baring shows himself uncompromisingly Conservative; and Mr. Balfour, a young gentleman who has the advantage of having the Marquis of Salisbury for uncle, and whose portrait they say is in the Academy this year, makes a good many speeches in the course of the evening. Mr. Beresford-Hope is a very old friend of Mr. Balfour’s. He has, indeed, I believe, nursed him on his knee, and now takes a paternal interest in his Parliamentary progress, which occasionally leads to breaches of order. Mr. Balfour sits just behind Mr. Beresford-Hope, and the latter gentleman has a way of turning round to his young friend and addressing him personally, and tenderly expostulating with him. As everybody knows, it is an initial rule of the orders of the House of Commons that speakers shall always address the chair, and Mr. Beresford-Hope’s persistent procedure in ignoring the chairman, and directly addressing Mr.

Balfour, irresistibly reminds one of Joe Gargary, when Estella came to pay him a visit at the forge, and when he insisted throughout the conversation in ignoring the presence of the lady, and answering all her questions as if it were Pip who had put them, and as if there were no one else in the room but himself and his youthful apprentice.

On the Liberal side the discussion is maintained largely by Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen, who comes down to the House with several long speeches prepared on various points, and he never rises to make one of these speeches—which he remorselessly delivers at full length—without expressing his regret or surprise that there should be so few members present when Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen was about to address them. Lord Edmund Fitzmaurice also figures largely in this debate, and has little wrangles with Mr. Balfour, being all the while glared upon by Mr. Beresford-Hope, who rarely quits his place at the corner of the bench in front of his young friend, and when the latter is attacked moves uneasily in his place, something after the manner (if the simile be not too irreverent) of a matronly hen whose brood is threatened. Indeed, I have not seen anything so affecting in recent Parliamentary life as the attachment of Mr. Beresford-Hope to Mr. Balfour.

Mr. George Otto Trevelyan also has something to say on the bill, and Mr. Osborne Morgan divided his time on Thursday night between excursions to the House of Lords, to watch over the progress of the Burials Bill, and the House of Commons, where from time to time he interposed in debate on the Universities Bill. Two other gentlemen who may be named as being pretty certain at one time or other of the evening's debate on the Universities Bill to catch the chairman's eye, are Sir William Harcourt and Mr. Parnell. Sir William, it must be admitted, does not devote that full measure of time to the discussion which might be expected from a gentleman who affects scholarship and who really is member for a University town. At this time of the year Sir Wm. Harcourt is accustomed to lighten his senatorial duty by dining out a good deal. Thus there are large gaps in his attendance upon the House. But he rarely fails to present himself between eleven and half-past, and is not in his place many minutes before he finds something to say. As he has not heard what has preceded, it naturally happens that his conception of the precise question is not very clear, and his interposition, if it has no other effect, introduces some liveliness into the discussion, as matters have to be explained to Sir William, after which he endeavours to show that that was just what he meant.

It was Mr. Biggar who, of the two great Irish representatives, originally took the Universities' Bill under his care. But, somehow or other, he has, with quite unaccustomed diffidence, shrunk from attending on the debate, and it has accordingly fallen to the lot of Mr. Parnell to represent Ireland in this discussion. Mr. Parnell's interference is literally regulated by clockwork, and what he has to say does not greatly vary from succeeding nights. Regularly, at midnight, or as soon after as he can find an opening, Mr. Parnell rises, and Mr. Gathorne Hardy knows that it is all over. Thus, on Thursday night, when things were going on pretty smoothly, and there appeared some prospect of clearing the paper of all amendments save those relating to postponed clauses, Mr. Parnell rose, and a cloud fell over the face of the Secretary for War, hitherto radiant with the success which had attended his endeavours to push the bill forward. A motion to report progress had already been made by Mr. Courtney, and Mr. Hardy had argued the matter out, and had apparently won over the committee to his view—that it really was not worth while, for the sake of the half hour that would be requisite, to leave the bill in its unfinished state. But when Mr. Parnell rose there was nothing more to be said, and after taking a couple of divisions by way of protest, progress was reported, leaving the gist of the bill to be dealt with when the House shall meet again.

MR. GLADSTONE'S VISIT TO BIRMINGHAM has been fixed for Thursday, the 31st inst. The conference summoned to consider the proposed federation of the various Liberal associations of the country will meet at eleven o'clock in the morning. Mr. Gladstone is expected to arrive at three o'clock in the afternoon, and will be present in the evening at a public meeting to be held in Bingley Hall, at which the Mayor will preside. Mr. R. W. Dale will move a resolution upon the Eastern Question, upon which the meeting will be addressed by Mr. Gladstone. A second resolution will be moved by Mr. Chamberlain with reference to the new federation, and Mr. J. S. Wright will afterwards move a vote of thanks to Mr. Gladstone. Mr. Gladstone has accepted the invitation of the Mayor to a dinner at the Queen's Hotel on the succeeding day (Friday).

Literature.

THE TURKS AND THEIR SUBJECTS.*

These three books come fittingly together as complements or correctives. Mr. Freeman gives us a very succinct and eloquent description of the Turks, tracing out the causes that have gone to render them so inauspicious an element in Europe, and have hindered them from assimilating themselves with the people among which they were cast, and over whom they obtained dominion; Miss Irby brings down to the present date her experiences in Bosnia by three additional chapters put as an introduction to the account of the travels in the Slavonic Provinces undertaken in 1865 by her and Miss Muir Mackenzie (who has since died); while Colonel Baker, who holds property in Turkey, and has resided there mainly for some years, says all that can be said by way of arrest of judgment on the Ottoman Power, desirous, as it would appear, to modify, as far as he can, the disgust and horror of everything Turkish, which has recently waxed stronger and stronger through Western Europe, as accounts of unprecedented oppression and outrage have come in. The almost simultaneous appearance of three such works as these indicates the depth of interest with which these Eastern regions are viewed. We shall endeavour, as best we can in the space at our disposal, to tell what the books contain, rather than to enter on minute and special criticisms.

Mr. Freeman tells us in his preface that he wishes his volume to be taken as a supplement to his "Lectures on the History and Conquests of the Saracens," but it will, to most readers who have little time for special and exhaustive researches, stand out as an independent and powerful book. The Turks, he shows, both by race and by religion, are pledged to maintain themselves a separate people or caste in Europe. The virus of their malign influence he traces to these two sources, which ultimately identify themselves, and are indistinguishable. Race alone is not to be taken into account for their persistency of isolation and fateful superiority. Other Turanian races have become absorbed in the populations amongst whom they found themselves—notably the Bulgarians and the Magyars. But the reason was that these peoples became Christian, and by their Christianity became European, whereas the Turk, by his Mahommedanism, is bound to remain Oriental and non-European, maintaining institutions—polygamy, for example—which are utterly alien to all true European influence and tendency. He is thus regressive: opposed to Christian civilisation and progress; and if he adopts any influences from them it is simply in aid of the one impelling idea of his faith, to which his whole heart and mind are pledged—the extension of the religion of the Koran by fraud or by force, by cruelty or by oppression and by outrage of all kinds. Thus the greatest evils in the system tend to unite its members, and the very affinities it has to Christianity make it the more staunchly unyielding and determined. It is a rival religion, consciously and completely.

"No religion," says Mr. Freeman, "has ever called forth more complete faith, more self-sacrificing zeal, on the part of its own professors, than Mahommedanism. But the one precept which corrupts all, the precept which bids the true believer to fight against the infidel, turns that very faith and zeal, which have in them so much to be admired, into the cruellest instruments of oppression against men of all other creeds. At this stage it may very likely be asked, and not unfairly, whether it is meant to charge all Mahommedan Governments with the crimes which disgrace the rule of the Ottoman Turks. The answer is easy. If it is meant to ask whether all the Mahommedan nations and Governments have been guilty of these crimes in the same degree, we may unhesitatingly answer, No. There is a vast difference between one Mahommedan nation or Government and another, just as there is a vast difference between one Christian or Pagan nation or Government and another. But it is none the less true that the crimes which mark the Ottoman rule spring directly from the principles of the Mahommedan religion. They show the worst tendencies of that religion carried out in their extremest shape. . . . Under every Mahommedan Government those tendencies must exist in some degree; therefore, while some Mahommedan Governments have been far better than others, no Mahommedan Government can be good according to a Western standard. For no Mahommedan Government which rules over subjects which are not Mahommedans can give really equal rights to all its subjects. The utmost that the best Mahommedan ruler can do is to save his subjects of other religions from actual persecutions, from actual personal oppression; he cannot save them from degradation. He cannot, without forsaking the principles of his own religion, put them on the same level as Mussulmans. The utmost that he can do is to put his non-Mussulman subjects in a state which, in every Western country, would be looked upon as fully justifying them in revolting against his rule. And, as we have seen, the tendencies to treat them worse than this are almost irresistible. Among the Ottomans these tendencies have reached their fullest development."

* 1. *The Ottoman Power in Europe: its Nature, Growth, and its Decline.* By EDWARD A. FREEMAN, D.C.L., LL.D., Knight Commander of the Greek Order of the Saviour, and of the Serbian Order of Takova, &c., &c. With three coloured maps. (Macmillan and Co.)

2. *Travels in the Slavonic Provinces of Turkey in Europe.* By G. MUIR MACKENZIE and A. P. IRBY. With a Preface by the Right Hon. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P., &c., &c. In Two Volumes. Second Edition revised. (Daldy, Ishister, and Co.)

3. *Turkey in Europe.* By JAMES BAKER, M.A., Lieutenant Colonel Auxiliary Forces, formerly 8th Hussars. With two Maps. Third Edition. (Cassell, Petter, and Galpin.)

After it is most careful and philosophic tracing out of causes, Mr. Freeman proceeds to deal with practical results, discussing with great clearness and acumen various deliverances of our statesmen respecting Turkey, and exposing the absurdity, and, indeed, the almost fatuity of expecting any real reform from her under any constitution whatever. The book is one of the most masterly and helpful we have had from Mr. Freeman's hand, and gives an excellent grounding of principle from which to advance with profit on such books as those we have here associated with it.

The three first chapters of Miss Irby's book will be read with an interest we hope commensurate to their importance. They can hardly, we think, fail to be so. For a true picture of the recent and present position of unfortunate Bosnia no better-informed or more trustworthy authority could be found. In the most calm and dispassionate way we are told of the process by which this lovely region has been almost depopulated. It is fair and fertile; but extortion, rapine, and cruelty have done their sad work very effectually. Miss Irby tells us:—

The soil of Bosnia teems with various and valuable minerals, her hills abound in splendid forests, her well-watered plains are fertile and productive; her race, under culture, proves exceptionally gifted. Yet her commerce is contemptible; "plums," to quote the report of Mr. Consul Holmes for 1873, being "the most valuable article of trade in the province"; her population is uneducated, not one man in a hundred knowing how to read; and the chief town, Serajevo, which contains from forty to fifty thousand inhabitants, possessing not a single bookshop.

The Bosnian Beggars, or landowners, whose fathers had turned Mahommedan in bygone years from self-interest, now that equality has been proclaimed, are not disinclined to embrace the Christianity their forefathers professed. But generations of accommodation have corrupted them, and cunning calculations impel most of them. Their rule, however, was kindly compared with that of the taxgatherer. The system of farming out the taxes is one of the very worst that could be imagined. One man who buys the taxes of a district will sell them to another at a profit of 50 per cent., and he again to several others at a profit, and each of these have to grind a profit for themselves out of the very poor. The tax for exemption from military service falls with especial severity on the poorest of the peasantry, for no sooner is a male child born than the taxgatherer is entitled to come in and demand twenty-eight piastres. Again, says Miss Irby, "the cultivator dares not gather in his crops till the visit of the assessor; while he is waiting it repeatedly happens that the harvests perish. The tax on the arbitrarily calculated value, is of course, exacted all the same. In fact, the peasants suffer much less from the Mussulman landlord than from the Government official, for the landowner is interested in the prosperity of the tenant."

The sale of Serbian books and newspapers has for a considerable period been strictly prohibited in Bosnia.

Miss Irby thus gives from the mouth of a peasant a glimpse of the general experience:—

What with the eighth paid to the Government, the third or half to the Beg, the tax in exemption of military service, the taxes for pigs, cattle, and everything we have and have not, there remains nothing for us villagers to live upon. I have seen men driven into pigsties, and shut up there in cold and hunger until they paid; hung up from the rafters of their houses with their heads downwards in the smoke, till they disclosed where their little stores were hidden. I have known them hung up from trees, and water poured down them in the freezing cold; I have known them fastened barefoot to run behind the Beg's cart; I have known women and maidens at work in the fields suffer the extreme of brutal violence, or be forcibly carried off to Turkish houses. If we complained or reported, we were imprisoned or put to death.

In the two later chapters Miss Irby gives from her own experiences and the testimony of eye-witnesses additional instances of outrages and implements, which have simply to be added to the mournful list of atrocities with which we have already been made so familiar. The Bosnian love of country—strong and tender—up till recently made those who had to flee remain near the borders. Such small resource of consolation now remains not. Miss Irby says:—

There is a complete clearing out of the Serb people of Bosnia, for the Turkish authorities themselves hunt

them down, and give full licence to the Bashi-Bazouks and gipsies, also to the Catholics and the Jews; and every one is free to kill or do any violence to a Bosnian Serb or to take away his property, and no Serb dares to make any complaint. They are fleeing incessantly out of Bosnia, wherever they are able. Below Brod, near Vuchijah, a hundred families have crossed over. I spoke with them myself, and asked them, "Why do you fly, brothers, when here you must perish of hunger?" Weeping and groaning they replied they would rather jump into the river than suffer what they have to endure. They said there were a hundred families in Gornje, the half of which had fled into Austria, but afterwards returned at the bidding of the Turks and of the Austrian Government, who had assured them of perfect safety. They had been left in peace for some months, but now their sufferings were greater than ever before. They were incessantly harassed by Musulman hands, composed of the worst murderers and evil-doers, who violated women, carried off maidens, and seized whatever property they found.

This recital of sufferings and horrors quite justifies the words Mr. Gladstone uses in the preface he has written to this second edition:—

Miss Irby, after her long and self-sacrificing experience [in endeavouring to educate Bosnian children], speaks with a weight of authority, to which neither I nor any correspondent of a public journal can pretend. She now discloses, and that down to the latest date, upon information which she knows to be trustworthy, a state of things which exhibits a greater aggregate of human misery flowing from Turkish rule, than even the Bulgaria of 1876 could show. In Bosnia and the Herzegovina more than a third of the population are exiled or homeless; the mass of these (as we now learn) reduced to an allowance of one penny a day, but rather preferring to travel, and that rapidly, the road to famine and to pestilence, than to descend by retreating into the abyss of a suffering which is also shame; and with that the constant and harrowing recurrence of the cruel outrages, which are more and more fastening themselves, as if inseparable adjuncts, upon the Turkish name!

We have less space at our disposal to summarise Colonel Baker's book. He has become possessed of land in the Turkish dominion, and with a good steward whom he has secured he has fair hopes of doing well. But the roads are so bad that he has to confess, rather piteously, that, in order to transfer his produce to market, he must have recourse to pack-loads, which runs away with the profit; and, after all that he has said in apology for Turkish administration, it is evident that he is not quite comfortable in reference to several things in the future. On some subjects he has gathered facts that are of no little value, and he writes well, with great dash and vigour; but he almost forces us to laugh—yes, to laugh!—when he endeavours to prove that Turkish taxation is not so much to blame as the methods of collecting it, as though (save in some abstract and ideal state) a tax could be viewed separately from the evils or the benefits implied in its collection. Colonel Baker does not profess to be a philosopher, yet he can be very abstract in the difference between the *terminus a quo* and the *terminus ad quem*: let us hope that he may always be able as happily to distinguish between the Turkish taxes and the method of their collection. This is what he says on that subject—the only extract we can afford to make:—

It is very easy, by the use of figures, to make the taxes of any country appear burdensome and oppressive. In England we have only to unite the avocations of a landed proprietor, a publican, a brewer, and a merchant in one man, and we can make out a sum for taxes and duties in proportion to income, which at first sight would appear as though the man were the victim of a wanton and greedy government. In Turkey the legal taxes, as compared with those of other States, are not oppressive, but in some instances the mode of collecting them is unjust and ruinous to the individual as well as to the State.

The tithe is not collected directly by the government, but the right of collecting it is sold annually, during the spring, to the highest bidder. A man will buy the tithes of a whole sandjak, and immediately sell to perhaps four others, at a profit of 50 per cent. These four again sell at a profit, so that a comparatively small portion of the tax goes to the benefit of the State, and the producer is taxed to make the fortunes of private individuals. . . . In theory, a direct government collector naturally suggests itself, but it has been tried and has proved a failure. The *rayahs* bribed the government officials who were to collect the tax, and in other cases the officials used harsh measures in the collection, the loss to the government became greater than ever, and the peasants prayed to be placed under the old regime. . . . So long as Turkish administration is so corrupt the present system is the only one that can be followed.

Colonel Baker has written a book full of valuable matter, and most readable; but, though we should be the last to fail to observe the good old maxim *audi alteram partem*, we must say that his admissions amount to the most deadly of charges against Turkey for laxity of administration, and total lack of power to cope with and to correct official defalcation (the outcome of corruption penetrating into every exercise of power). What in one breath Colonel Baker claims for Turkey he implicitly gives up the next; and the book cannot be regarded as sound in its political economy or in its philosophy, though to the enlightened the volume will present many facts of value and pictures that are eloquent and impressive.

MARTINEAU'S SERMONS.*

Whatever may be our theological differences with Dr. Martineau, there are few of us who, having read his "Endeavours after the Christian Life," will not welcome another volume of sermons from his pen. This, we are told, represents a considerably later stage of feeling than this earlier work, "but essentially the same view of life, the same conception of the order of the world, the same interpretation of the Christian mind, will (says Dr. Martineau) still meet the reader; for they remain unaffected, so far as I can perceive, by the real discoveries, and are prejudiced only by the philosophical fictions of the last five-and-twenty years." Other features of the earlier volumes will also be found in this—the same elevation of religious sentiment, and the same delicacy and refinement in its expression. The old fervour of admiration for the character of Christ remains unchanged by increased skill in literary criticism, or by diminished belief in supernatural agency. At the same time, the growth of years adding to the stores of knowledge have not encumbered the imagination, but added to the wealth of illustrations by which the writer both adorns and lights up his meaning. As we propose to give a few examples of Dr. Martineau's treatment of his subjects, both as to style and method of exposition, we will begin with the manner in which he illustrates the truth that "men's views of the unseen, as of the seen, world are for the most part less expressive of their range of knowledge than of their tone of sentiment"; or, taking a particular instance, can a man who distrusts his friends trust God?

It cannot be! The habit of unrestful vigilance, of courting the dark corners of possibility; of giving the benefit of every doubt to the worse alternative, will still assert itself, and expose him to misgivings of Providence, and an exigent demeanour towards heaven. The cynic in society becomes the pessimist in religion. The large embrace of sympathy which fails him as an interpreter of human life, will no less be wanting when he reads the meaning of the universe. The harmony of the great whole escapes him in his hunt for little discords here and there. He is blind to the august balance of nature, in his preoccupation with some creaking show of defect. He misses the comprehensive march of advancing purpose, because while he is in it, he has found some halting member that seems to lag behind. He picks holes in the universal order; he winds through its tracks as a detective; and makes scandals of all that is not to his mind. He trusts nothing that he cannot see; and he sees chiefly the exceptional, the dubious, the harsh. The glory of the midnight heavens affects him not, for thinking of a shattered planet or the uninhabitable moon. He makes more of the flood which sweeps the crop away, than of the perpetual river which feeds it year by year. For him the purple bloom upon the hills, peering through the young green wood, does but dress up a stony desert with deceitful beauty; and in the new birth of summer he cannot yield himself to the exuberance of glad existence for wonder why insects tease and nettles sting.

In this fashion the preacher continues for another half-page. It may be objected that this style is too rich for effect, and conceals, instead of transmitting, the thought; that even its beauty hinders the purpose of the preacher, by detaining the mind of the hearer in admiration of the illustrations, while it ought to be intent on receiving the truths to be enforced. In these objections there is doubtless some force, but we confess to a feeling of great delight in reading these discourses, nor are we aware of having lost sight of the aim for which they were written. Speaking generally the pulpit is wanting in that play of the imagination which finds figures of various kinds which do not merely adorn, but also add, to the force of the truth to be conveyed. We would not recommend our young preachers, nor the students of our colleges, to imitate Dr. Martineau's profusion of imagery; but we would advise them to seek for metaphors which express in a concrete and easily intelligible manner the truths which without their aid are difficult of apprehension. These sermons, besides the primary use for which they are published—that of exhibiting the essential truths of religion, and of setting forth the Divine life of the highest human souls—will be found full of suggestions. Side lights are cast here and there upon Scripture, or upon aspects of human experience, which give a new, or recall a forgotten, significance of permanent worth. Here are a few such, which we had marked in reading.

On the text, "Seek first the kingdom of God," &c., the following suggestive thoughts are found—

The godless lover of gain, and the gainless lover of God are fanatics both, taking hold of the opposite ends of the same falsehood. And the truth which suffices to rebuke them both is this; that the kingdom of God is not a business, set up in a rivalry with worldly business, but a divine law regulating, and a divine temper pervading, the pursuits of worldly business.

* *Hours of Thought on Sacred Things.* A Volume of Sermons. By JAMES MARTINEAU, LL.D., D.D., &c. (London: Longmans, Green, and Co.)

Remarking that this passage is not unfrequently extolled for its beauty, and thus frittered away as mere hyperbole, Dr. Martineau says:—

Beauty can no more exist in the moral world without truth, than without light in the natural.

Here, then, is the exact interpretation of the Saviour's rule. Seek ye your physical good unconsciously, by strictness of habit restorative of the innocence of instinct. Seek ye spiritual good—i.e., a divine order and temper in all pursuits, with full consciousness, and an earnest tension of the living will.

On Mary's choice of the better part we read:—

Those to whom life is a succession of particular businesses, however intelligent, energetic, and conscientious, must rank in the scale of human excellence below those to whom life is rather the flow of one spirit.

What Science calls the uniformity of nature, Faith accepts as the fidelity of God. . . . Without a reliable universe and a trustworthy God, no moral character could grow.

There are, in fact, two types of human greatness—the Pagan and the Christian—the moral and the religious—the secular and the Divine. The former has its root and essence in *trying hard*; the latter, in *trusting gently*: the one depends on voluntary energy, the other on relinquishment of personal will, to cast every burden upon God.

There is undoubtedly a sense in which all faith is blind. Science steps only where she clearly sees; faith can dispense with seeing. Science boasts of her prevision; faith can advance into the dark. Science is proud of her power to lead the order of events; faith gives the hand and is thankful to be led. It is ever the ambition of men to walk by sight: it is the method of God to lead them as the blind by a way that they know not.

There are twenty-five sermons in the volume, a few only of which treat of philosophical or theological questions, and these are, in our opinion, the least valuable. That on Divine justice and pardon reconciled has somewhat astonished us. We were scarcely prepared to find that the eminent reviewer of McLeod Campbell's work on the Atonement, would, as a preacher, be occupied with the problem of this sermon. The best, the most enduring portions of this volume are those which refer to the varying phases of human religious experience. "The Witness of God with our Spirit," "God revealed unto Babes," "The Messengers of Change," "Secret Trust," "The Unknown Paths," "Rest in the Lord," these are sermons of supreme excellence; they are in an unusual degree spiritual; they breathe the air of an exalted piety; and they shed over the mind of the reader something of the peace which their author must have enjoyed in their production.

"SHAKESPEARE DIVERSIONS.*"

Mr. Jacox has given us another admirable illustration of his peculiar art. Following up the plan of his former volume of "Shakespeare Diversions," he selects a leading topic or text from the play before him, and finds commentary in the widest excursions. He draws tribute from the remotest corners, and sometimes strikes fresh and unexpected light by the mere contact of materials that seemed foreign to each other. His careful habit of making notes must be aided by a quick and retentive memory, and a keen sense of analogy. Added to this is a subdued humour, which enables him to impart an individual character to his wisely-arranged mosaic; so that there is nothing of miscellaneity. Each section reads like a little essay in which a man of meditative habit, but penetrating instinct, insinuates his own views in the most ingenious way, while professedly doing little more than presenting the views of others. His wide reading does not burden him, nor does authority go for too much. He contrasts, compares, and draws inferences, but never becomes dogmatic, intent only on awakening the mind of the reader to the universality, the depth, and the height of Shakespeare, who reveals only the greater inexhaustibility of the more that he is studied. Mr. Jacox's "Diversions" may, therefore, be regarded as a playful-earnest endeavour to broaden, to humanise, to undogmatise the commentaries, to show how efficiently Shakespeare touches all literatures at many points, embracing and elevating the best in them. The book is at once a description and a guide; it not only surveys the ground, but suggests the possibilities that await the patient searches of others.

The present volume is chiefly taken up with *Othello* and *Hamlet*—two of the plays which lend themselves with especial attractions to this method of treatment. How many fights have been fought over the question of Othello's race,—negro, Mauritanian, or pure Egyptian? and how many contending conceptions of his jealousy have prevailed. Mr. Jacox impartially quotes De Quincey, Professor Wilson, Schlegel,

* *Shakespeare Diversions.* Second Series. From *Dogberry to Hamlet.* By FRANCIS JACOX, B.A., author of "Cues from all Quarters." &c. (Daldy, Isbister, and Co.)

Lord Chesterfield, and many others, leaving on the mind the impression that the *motif* in Shakespeare is not usually to be traced to one simple and separable element. We remember to have read in an American magazine a very able study of *Othello* by Mr. Snider, in which he held that the principal *motif* of the play was found in the forming of the family tie through an outrage on the Ethics of the family—that is, through a departure from the generally recognised affinities of race; Desdemona setting aside the will of her father in her choice, and also opposing the general instinct of her people. Brabantio represented the prevailing sentiment of fitness and of race, as preferring for his daughter a Venetian gentleman who is a booby, to a coloured man who is a hero. He also made a great point of the suspicion that rested on the intimacy of *Othello* and *Emilia*, as forming a too substantial groundwork of experience on which jealousy, once suggested, might work on what was, in the words of Professor Dowden, a nature originally too large and royal for jealousy. Mr. Snider held that the drama was essentially the tragedy of Husband and Wife, or of the nuptial bond. There were three pairs of lovers in the play, all representing in gradation negative phases. First came *Othello* and *Desdemona*, their union resting on love and fidelity, but contrary, nevertheless, to a necessary condition of the family. Their tie was disrupted, and both perished. The second couple is *Iago* and *Emilia*, who are married, but are without emotional bases for the union; and they, too, are destroyed. The third pair is *Cassio* and *Bianca*, who, unmarried, represent the purely sensuous relation in opposition to the true idea of the family. They are both preserved, having committed no tragic violation of the tie on which they had never entered. Then there were various cross relations of these individuals, giving other negative phases, and adding at once to the complication and tragic depth of the piece. The American criticisms of *Othello* bring out in a very peculiar manner the ideas of race; but nowhere is this more markedly seen than in the essay by John Quincy Adams, from which we are somewhat surprised that Mr. Jacob does not more largely quote. That writer argues that Brabantio could have seen nothing "unnatural" in Desdemona's passion for *Othello* had it not been for his colour (he was her equal every way else), and that there could have been no other reason to attribute her passion to the work of philtres or witchcraft. He fails to see in Desdemona that high strain of gentle meekness which most critics had hitherto found in it. He declares that the first action of Desdemona discards female delicacy, filial duty; and so it is considered by her father. Her offence is not a mere elopement from her father's house for a clandestine marriage, but an elopement for a clandestine marriage with a *blackamoor*! Had the error of Desdemona's conduct not been thus in some way vital, he asks, why does her father allow it to burden him to the end and to break his heart, so that Gratiano is led to say:—

Poor Desdemona! I am glad thy father's dead,
Thy match was mortal to him, and pure grief
Shore his old thread in twain.

Mr. Adams admits Desdemona's gentleness after the marriage:—

Her innocence in all her relations with *Othello* is pure and spotless—her kindness for *Cassio* is mere untainted benevolence; and, though ungarded in her personal deportment towards him, it is far from the slightest soil of culpable impropriety. . . . The marriage, however, is the source of all her calamities; it is the primitive cause of all the tragic incidents of the play, and of its horrible catastrophe. . . . The moral of the tragedy is that the intermarriage of black and white blood is a violation of the law of nature. THAT is the lesson to be learned from the play. To exhibit all the natural consequences of their act, the poet is compelled to make the marriage secret. It must commence by an elopement, and by an outrage on the decorum of social intercourse.

We have made these references to American estimates as showing (1) how the inexhaustibleness of Shakespeare yields to the critic almost what he comes to seek; and (2) how social and national predilections, consciously or unconsciously, determine the approach to studies the most disinterested. It is, indeed, very characteristic to find Mr. Adams naively confessing that, as the moral lesson to be learned from the play is of no practical utility in England, therefore critics there have failed to draw it. An argument this for Shakespeare's inclusiveness and universality, but hardly a sufficing one as against English critics. Mr. Jacob's own pleasant mode of drawing out divers opinions, and setting them against each other, has led us into these somewhat discursive illustrations on our own account.

Throughout, Mr. Jacob shows wide reading, careful comparison, and almost unique powers of arrangement. The casuistries that underlie many ordinary relations he suggests or indicates, as such a writer dealing largely and liberally

could hardly help doing. His chapter "A Loving Lie on Dying Lips" is a special instance of this, and from it we make the only quotation which our space will allow us to indulge ourselves in, though the book is pre-eminently one to tempt to quotation:—

To simulate prosperity may sometimes be shabby swindling, but sometimes "noble pride," says Mr. Thackeray, who, when he sees *Eugenia* with her dear children exquisitely neat and cheerful, not showing the slightest semblance of poverty, or uttering the smallest complaint; persisting that *Squanderfield*, her husband, treats her well, and is good at heart; and denying that he leaves her and her young ones in want—admires and reverences "that noble falsehood." Mrs. Gaskell's starving *Esther*, with a little unreal laugh exclaims to *Mary Barton*, "Oh, Mary, my dear, don't talk of eating. We've the best of everything and plenty of it, for my husband is in good work. I'd such a supper before I came out. I couldn't touch a morsel if you had it." John Barton's power of endurance had been called forth when he was a little child, and had seen his mother hide her daily morsel to share it among the children, and when he, being the eldest, had "told the noble lie" that he was not hungry, could not eat a bit more, in order to imitate his mother's bravery, and still the sharp wail of the younger infants. Little *Dorrit* pretends to have been at a party, "I could never have been of any use," she protests, "if I had not pretended a little." She has said very little about it; only a few words to make her father easy. What was Little *Dorrit's* party? The closing paragraph of the chapter bearing that title will tell us. The shame, desertion, wretchedness, and exposure of the great capital; the wet, the cold, the slow hours, and the swift clouds of the dismal night. Such was the party from which the Little *Dorrit* went home, jaded, in the first grey of a rainy morning.

It is on the occasion of Tom Pinch forcing on an impecunious friend a piece of gold himself could so ill spare, with the assurance, "I don't want it; indeed, I should not know what to do with it, if I had it,"—that Tom's author hazards the assertion of there being some falsehoods, on which men mount, as on bright wings towards heaven. Some truths there are, he goes on to say, cold, bitter, taunting truths, wherein your worldly scholars are very apt and punctual, which bind men down to earth with leaden chains. And who, he asks, would not rather have to fan him in his dying hour, the lightest feather of a falsehood such as Tom's, than all the quills that have been plucked from the sharp porcupine, reproachful truth, since time began."

BRIEF NOTICES.

Africa and the Brussels Geographical Conference. By EMILE BANNING. Translated by RICHARD HENRY MAJOR, F.S.A. (Sampson Low and Co.) This work has a unique value; first, as a general record of African discovery; secondly, as representing the International Conference at Brussels; and thirdly, as a stimulus to the civilisation of Africa. The Brussels Conference, of which too little notice was taken at the time that it was held, had a high humanitarian purpose, which, if it can be realised, will, as M. Banning observes, rescue all Central Africa from the isolation of centuries, and place the task of its civilisation on "a broad and stable basis." The question, of course, is whether such an enterprise is practicable,—whether, in fact, more will not be done by each nation working in its own way than by all uniting for a common and definite purpose. Theoretically, of course, the latter is the more preferable plan, and it at least deserves to be tried. When such eminent English geographers as Sir Bartle Frere, Sir Henry Rawlinson, Col. Grant, and Commander Cameron, have given their adhesion to it, it scarcely becomes us to express or even to imply a thought against it. It has our warmest sympathies, and M. Banning's work will do much to help it.

Peter the Apostle. By the Rev. W. M. TAYLOR, D.D. (Sampson Low and Co.) Some time since, we had the gratification of noticing Dr. Taylor's admirable work on *Elijah*. The present is quite equal to it, and in fact, in some respects, superior, giving as it does more frequent illustrations of spiritual principle. Dr. Taylor has breadth, sagacity, and what is often wanted in the pulpit—common sense. He is also distinguished by culture and wide reading—his common sense, however, keeping him from any pedantic parade of these. The sermons are far above the average of the majority of their class.

Joanna's Inheritance: A Story of Young Lives. By EMMA MARSHALL. (Seeleys.) To say that a work is written by Mrs. Marshall should be sufficient to make all young people, and especially all young ladies, ask for it. This is a tale for both sexes. The heroine, *Joanna*—heirress to a large property—is left at fifteen years of age an orphan, and committed to the care of a physician who has a large and, as our American friends would say, a rather "mixed" family. Here, for the first time in her life, she comes into intimate contact with young people of her own age. At first, being sensitive and reserved, the effect is painful, equally to herself and to others, but, by-and-by, she conquers all, and when she leaves takes all hearts with her. The tale is beautifully told, and there are some capital characters, very distinctly drawn, of both sexes.

The Baptism of the Holy Ghost. By ASA MAHAN, D.D. To which is added the *Endowment of Power.* By the Rev. C. G. FINNEY. (Elliot Stock.) Our readers may guess, from the names of the two authors on the title-page, what is the character of this work. It brings before the reader, with greater prominence than is customary, the reality and power of the work of the Spirit, but, at the same time, with some reflections with which we cannot agree. The work, we believe, has had a large circulation in the United States.

Hardy Plants for Little Front Gardens: by S. STACKHOUSE (Warne and Co.) is, we regret to say, particularly suitable to a very large number of householders—we use the word regret because we should like everyone to have a large front garden, when they would require a larger work than this. The author is eminently practical, and has both fitness and economy in view. He treats of arrangement, of implements, shrubs and small trees and flowers for all seasons. With his admirable suggestions any little space might be made, at very little expense, to look pretty.

Some fresh and well-written tales are before us, all published by the Religious Tract Society. In *the Day After To-morrow*, by Mrs. PROSSER, we have a finely-drawn character of a hard and mean, but so far successful, woman, who, as a miller, cheats her customers, and while she grinds beans with flour, grinds down also all who are in any way dependent upon her. The circumstances for illustrating such a character are all well chosen, and there is a quiet pathos in many portions of the tale. Ultimately the heart of the old vixen becomes softened, and the end is as it should be. By-the-by, we cannot often say a word in praise of the engravings in the smaller works of the Tract Society, but the scene opposite page 20, and especially the figure of *Miss Hornbeck* is admirably drawn.—In the *Middletons*, by the author of "My Brother Paul," etc., there is given the life of a family, the head of which has just absconded, after robbing his employer. The family migrate from the old village home to Norwich, where they seek employment. Their difficulties are described in a very natural manner, and the incidents follow each other with proper rapidity—ending in thankful surprise and rest. Temperance people will be pleased with this tale.—*Osgood's Rebellion*, by the author of the "Old Brown Book and its Secret," is a very good school tale for boys. The incidents are particularly fresh, they are well brought in, and they should influence all boys to good.—*Rhoda Lyle*, by the author of "Sunshine and Shadow in Kathleen's Life," tells of a little girl whose father and mother, with herself, were on the way towards a port whence they intended to sail for Australia, when the father and mother were killed in a railway accident. "Rhoda" was taken by her grandfather, and went through some painful and ultimately some bright and pleasant experiences. The characters here are exceedingly well contrasted.—*Lottie Freeman's Work*, by the author of the "Travelling Sixpence," is a tenderly-written narrative of a poor girl who had the spirit of self-sacrifice, and ultimately gave up her life for one who had been her greatest enemy. The character is beautifully drawn.—In *Pat Riley's Friends*, by the same author, we have a London street outcast described with good effect. A short tale for all—both old and young.

THE AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS AND THE COUNTY FRANCHISE.

On Wednesday last there was a crowded Conference held at Exeter Hall, at which some 2,000 delegates from the National Agricultural Union were present. The Right Hon. John Bright presided, and delivered an impressive address, in the course of which he attributed the great advance of this country in the past forty-five years mainly to the Reform Bill, which enfranchised the citizens of the boroughs, and believed that nearly equal results would follow the enfranchisement of the people of the counties. He looked to them in particular for a total change in the land laws. He repudiated the argument that the labourers were unfit for the franchise—though he left, we suppose unconsciously, an impression that he was not quite sure of their fitness,—holding that we must trust them, as we had trusted artisans in the boroughs. We might trust them more easily, Mr. Bright ironically said, because agricultural labourers have all the "advantages" their superiors so appreciate for them. For them are the fresh air and sunshine; for them, especially, the influence of the squire; for them, above all, the educating example of the Established parsons! They ought to be better than artisans, by the landlords' own showing. He strongly eulogised the labourers' associations for sending up so numerous a body of delegates—1,200 picked men—and assured them, if they would only unite, of an easy victory. They

must, however, associate themselves with their brethren of the towns.

The meeting, which was to a remarkable degree representative of all divisions of the country, passed resolutions in favour of household suffrage in the counties and of a redistribution of seats, so as to obtain a better representation of the electoral body.

In the evening there was a very crowded public meeting at St. James's Hall, at which Mr. J. Cowen, M.P., took the chair. Mr. T. Burt, M.P., moved a resolution in support of Mr. Trevelyan's motion for the assimilation of the county and the borough franchise, which was supported by Mr. Ball, the Rev. C. W. Stubbs the Rev. J. G. Rogers, and Mr. Bradlaugh, and carried unanimously. A resolution in favour of a redistribution of seats, moved by Sir Charles Dilke and seconded by Mr. Hopwood, M.P., was also adopted, and on the motion of Mr. Joseph Arch, seconded by Mr. Howard Evans, it was resolved to send a petition to the House of Commons embodying the resolutions. Attempts were made by Mrs. Ashford, Miss Lydia Becker, and Miss Sturge, to obtain a vote of the meeting in favour of woman suffrage, but Sir Charles Dilke, Admiral Maxse, and others, objected to the proposal as foreign to the object of the meeting, and eventually the motion was withdrawn.

The conference of the National Labourers' Union was resumed on Thursday at the Weigh-house Chapel, Mr. Chamberlain, M.P., presiding. The Chairman said that whenever the Liberals came back to power the extension of the county franchise would be one of the first matters with which they would have to deal. The question of county administration, too, was now becoming of greater importance because of last year's Education Bill, for that measure had brought under compulsion the whole of the population in the county districts, at the same time leaving them with no sufficient or proper representation upon the boards which were to enforce the compulsion. There was also the question of the land laws, and of that he would say that they had all had bitter and practical experience that the aggregation of large estates in few hands was almost an unmixed evil. He did not suppose that they would suffer the continuance of the present legislation with respect to game, under which something like 10,000 criminals were created every year. Again, they would have to consider the relations between the Church and the State. That was a matter upon which the agricultural labourers had a special right to speak, because when they were silent it was assumed by their opponents that they assented to the existing state of things. If the Church were the poor man's Church, and especially the poor man's Church in the country, the poor man should have some voice in the disposition of the vast property now possessed by the Church, and should decide whether the appropriation was, on the whole, most conducive to the interests it was said to serve.

Miscellaneous.

FAMINE IN NORTH CHINA.—Through the newspaper press our readers will have become aware of the widespread distress which, at the present time, is being felt by the natives of large districts in North China, owing to long-continued drought and consequent failure of the rice crops. The London Missionary Society's station at Tientsin, that of the Baptist Missionary Society at Chefoo, in Shantung, with others, are situated in the midst of the famine districts, and the missionaries are doing all in their power to alleviate the sufferings of their native converts, and the people generally. Some of their number have been down to Shanghai, and have obtained funds; and Japanese and other vessels are bringing large quantities of rice and grain to the Chinese ports. Several friends in this country have rendered help in the way of personal contributions, but as no national fund has been set on foot, the assistance already given falls far short of the actual needs of the sufferers. In this crisis it has been thought that the Christian public of England might be disposed to render a helping hand by making the missionaries and their converts the almoners of their bounty. Contributions will be thankfully received and despatched to China without delay by the secretaries of the London Missionary Society, Blomfield-street, London-wall, E.C., and of the Baptist Missionary Society, Castle-street, Holborn, E.C.

ALSACE-LORRAINE AND GERMANY.—M. Jean Dollfus, a well-known statesman and philanthropist of Alsace-Lorraine, whom his grateful countrymen have elected their representative in the German Parliament, has delivered a powerful speech to that assembly, protesting against the enormous pecuniary burdens imposed upon all Germany by reason of the armaments rendered needful to retain the provinces conquered from France—burdens which have doubled through that conquest. The heavy debts and fresh loans thus involved are becoming intolerably oppressive. M. Dollfus pleads that if Germany will consent to restore Alsace-Lorraine to France, she will immediately obtain deliverance from the tremendous financial and political embarrassments under which the people are now staggering. He exclaims:—"You wished to annex Alsace-Lorraine because you thought that you would thereby secure yourselves from further wars. But if so, how is it that you continue so heavily equipped for war, and are obliged to maintain such a vast expenditure? You would have no war at all

to fear, if you were to do what we wish. You would at once convert us, and all Frenchmen, into your best friends. Then, with the development of freedom, with the progress of civilisation and prosperity, these nations would become more and more mutually united in a multitude of friendly relationships, and we should see an end of those human slaughters which are the relics of barbarous ages. Great Germany, by this course of action, would be the admiration of all Europe, and would realise the fulfilment of the glorious declaration inscribed on the monument of her illustrious monarch, Frederick William III.:—"Righteousness exalteth the nations, and secures peace upon earth." M. Dollfus added:—"Modern warfare, by reason of the closer and closer connection between the nations, and the perfection of their weapons, is becoming increasingly murderous, and is the most terrible scourge of humanity. We ought all, then, to desire the maintenance of peace, and to consider it as a sacred duty to do what we can to secure, by its means, the intellectual, moral, and material advance of the people. But every European conflict can now only be regarded as a civil war."

THOUSANDS are unable to take Cocoa because the varieties commonly sold are mixed with starch, under the plea of rendering them soluble; while really making them thick, heavy, and indigestible. This may be easily detected, for if cocoa thickens in the cup it proves the addition of starch. Cadbury's Cocoa Essence is genuine; it is therefore three times the strength of these cocoas, and a refreshing beverage like tea or coffee.

Births, Marriages, and Deaths.

MARRIAGES.

ASHMEAD-COX.—May 10, at Upton Chapel, Lambeth, by the Rev. W. Sampson, of Folkestone, Frederick Dods, eldest son of Frederick Ashmead, Esq., C.E., of Bristol, to Selina, youngest daughter of the late Thomas Cox, Esq., of Clapham-road.

CURLING-INCE.—May 12, at the East London Tabernacle, George John Curling to Caroline, youngest daughter of the late Samuel Ince.

GARDNER-DEVITT.—May 17, at Stamford-hill Congregational Church, by the Rev. J. Allanson Picton, M.A., assisted by the Rev. R. Vaughan Pryce, Samuel, second son of Thomas Gardner, of Buckhurst-hill, to Margaret Lane Devitt, youngest daughter of the late Thomas Henry Devitt, of Hackney.

PEARSON-HAWORTH.—May 17, at the Wesleyan Chapel, Withington, near Manchester, by the Rev. W. B. Pope, D.D., assisted by the Rev. James S. Haworth, brother of the bride, James Fildes, son of Charles Pearson, The Cedars, Didsbury, to Mary Anne, daughter of Richard Haworth, Mersey Bank, Didsbury. No cards.

COCHRAN-BECKS.—May 18, at Cheetham-hill Chapel, by the Rev. James Stevenson, of Dublin, brother-in-law of the bridegroom, William B. Cochran, formerly of Havana, to Emily, elder daughter of John Berrie, Esq., of Culcheth Hall, near Manchester, and widow of the late Henry Becks.

DEATHS.

INSELL.—April 13, at Mirzapore, North-West Provinces, India, Edith Annie, wife of the Rev. Thomas Insell, London Missionary Society, Mirzapore.

BUZACOTT.—May 8, Sarah Verney Buzacott, widow of the late Rev. Aaron Buzacott, 30 years missionary at Rarotonga, South Seas, aged 73.

ELLISON.—May 16, at Liverpool, while on a visit, at the residence of Robert Yelverton Dawbarn, Esq., Lucy Ellison, daughter of Richard Wood and the late Mary Lafone Dawbarn, of Wisbech, aged 28.

PERFECTION.—Mrs. S. A. ALLEN's World's Hair Restorer never fails to restore grey hair to its youthful colour, imparting to it new life, growth, and lustrous beauty. Its action is speedy and thorough, quickly banishing greyness. Its value is above all others. A single trial proves it. It is not a dye. It ever proves itself the natural strengthener of the hair. Sold by all Chemists and Perfumers.

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RECKITT'S PARIS BLUE.—The marked superiority of this Laundry Blue over all others, and the quick appreciation of its merits by the public has been attended by the usual result—viz., a flood of imitations. The merit of the latter mainly consists in the ingenuity exerted, not simply in imitating the square shape, but making the general appearance of the wrappers resemble that of the genuine article. The manufacturers beg therefore to caution all buyers to see "Reckitt's Paris Blue" on each packet.

KINAHAN'S LL WHISKY.—Universally recommended by the Medical Profession. A pure old spirit, mild, mellow, delicious, and most wholesome. Dr. Hassell says:—"The samples were soft and mellow to the taste, aromatic and ethereal to the smell. The Whisky must be pronounced to be pure, well-matured, and of very excellent quality." Wholesale, 20, Great Titchfield-street, London, W.

OLDRIDGE'S BALM OF COLUMBIA.—By the increasing demand for this famed Balm may be estimated its value and efficacy for replenishing, invigorating, and preserving the Hair either from falling off or turning grey. Without it no toilet is complete. It imparts to the hair a bright and glossy appearance, frees it entirely from scurf, and will not soil the most delicate fabric worn as head-dress "at home" or in promenade. In the "nursery" its use is invaluable, as it forms in infancy the basis of a healthy and luxuriant head of hair. Sold by all perfumers and chemists, at 3s. 6d., 6s., and 11s. only. Wholesale and retail by the proprietors, C. and A. Oldridge, 22, Wellington-street, seven doors from the Strand, London, W.C.

TEETH, £1 to £10 10s.—THE COMPLETE UPPER OR LOWER SET OF FOURTEEN PURE MINERAL TEETH, fitted and fixed to the mouth without pain. The extraction of stumps, loose or decayed teeth not being necessary in any case. This perfectly painless system of adapting artificial teeth to the mouth is protected by Her Majesty's Royal Letters Patent; and a written guarantee given with every case that they will not decay or change colour. 54, Rathbone-place, Oxford-street, near Tottenham-court-road. Mr. M. E. Toomey, Surgeon-Dentist.

EPPE'S CACAOINE (Quintessence of Cacao).—Cacaoine possesses the essential principle of cacao, theobromine, unclogged by excess of nutritives and over richness, as found in the natural cacao nibs, and in chocolates and prepared cocoas generally. The cacao flavour here becomes almond-like and intensified, and being unsweetened it affords when made an exhilarating warm drink, extremely fluid and refreshing, and clean to the palate. Sold only in packets and tins, labelled "James Epps & Co., Homoeopathic Chemists, London."

HORNIMAN'S TEA.—Choice teas at very reasonable prices are always to be had of Horniman's Agents; Chemists in every town. Being direct Importers, Messrs. Horniman guarantee the purity, strength, and flavour of all their teas. Their agents are constantly receiving fresh supplies from the Wholesale London House, secured in tin-foil packets, whereby the delicate flavour and aroma is preserved.

HOLLOWAY'S OINTMENT AND PILLS.—Tumours, Glanular Swellings, and Bad Breasts.—If any departure from health requires earlier attention than another to prevent disastrous consequences, it is the class of diseases now under review. To save hazard and future pain, the budding tumour must have prompt treatment, or discomfort and nights of disquietude will be the sufferer's portion. Whenever the ailment first appears, after fomenting the spot with warm water, Holloway's Ointment must be energetically rubbed on the part till a considerable quantity is absorbed. The Pills, too, must be commenced with early. If these remedies be diligently persevered with, the simplest tumour or the contracted and stiff joint is arrested. In cases of bad breasts, with or without milk fever, relief is almost instantaneous.

CARDINAL ECRU, OR CREAM—JUDSON'S DYES.—White goods may be dyed in five minutes. Ribbons, silks, feathers, scarfs, lace, braid, veils, handkerchiefs, clouds, bennosues, Shetland shawls, or any small article of dress, can easily be dyed without soiling the hands. Violet, magenta, crimson, mauve, purple, pink, ponceau, claret, &c., Sixpence per bottle. Sold by Chemists and Stationers.

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Patron—Her Majesty the QUEEN.

HOSPITAL SUNDAY, 17th June, 1877.—Clergymen and Ministers of Religion who have already promised their co-operation, are requested to accept cordial thanks for their much-valued assistance; those who have not yet replied to the invitation of the Council are earnestly requested to do so; and those who by accidental omission may not have received the invitation, are requested to address the Secretary, Mr. Henry Custance, at the Mansion House, who will supply the official papers.

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WANTED.—A GENTLEMAN as TUTOR to Four CHILDREN, from ten to fifteen years old. S and English with the languages. Earnest religious character indispensable, and an abstainer preferred. Write, R.C., care of Mr. Thos. Ward, 23, Temple-street, Liverpool.

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"DAVID THOMAS" SCHOLARSHIP.

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN that the FIRST EXAMINATION for this Scholarship (founded in memory of the late Rev. David Thomas, of Highbury Chapel, Bristol) will be held at CLIFTON COLLEGE, on WEDNESDAY, THURSDAY, and FRIDAY, the 5th, 6th and 7th of September next. Candidates must comply with the following requirements:—

(1) They must be Sons of Congregational Ministers resident in England or Wales; (2) They must not be less than 18 nor more than 25 years of age at the date of Election (19th September, 1877); (3) They must furnish the Trustees with evidence of moral and religious character, and of their general fitness for the work of the ministry.

In the case of Candidates who, at the time of the holding of the Election, are Students at any of the Congregational Colleges, the Trustees will accept a certificate from the College Secretary to the effect that they have been accepted as Students for the ministry; other candidates must forward a certificate of moral and intellectual fitness for ministerial work, signed by three ministers one of whom must be the Secretary of the Union within the limits of which the Candidate resides.

The successful Candidate will be required (1st), within two weeks after his Election, to sign an undertaking in writing forthwith to begin his studies at one of the Colleges at Oxford or Cambridge, or as an unattached Student at either of the said Universities; (2nd) within a like period, and also upon receipt of each half-yearly payment of the Scholarship, to sign a declaration of his intention to become a Congregational Minister.

The Scholarship, which is of the annual value of £60, is tenable for four years, but shall be vacated if the holder thereof shall cease to reside in and study at one of the said Universities with due diligence, and to the satisfaction of the Trustees, or shall fail at any time to sign the aforesaid declaration.

Papers will be set in the following subjects—viz.:—Greek—Medæa of Euripides; Herodotus, Book vii. Latin—Cicero de Amicitia; Horace Odes, Book i. Latin Prose Composition. Greek and Roman History. Mathematics—Euclid, Books i. to vi. and xi. Arithmetic. Algebra. Plane Trigonometry to the Solution of Triangles. Geometrical Conic Sections. The Epistle to the Galatians—Westcott's Introduction to the Study of the Gospels.

Notice of intention to compete for the Scholarship, together with all necessary certificates, must be forwarded to John F. Norris, Barrister-at-Law, Albion Chambers, Bristol, on or before the 8th August next.

"LAURENCE SAUNDERS" SCHOLARSHIP.

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN that the NEXT EXAMINATION for this Scholarship (founded in memory of Laurence Saunders, who suffered martyrdom at Coventry, in the reign of Queen Mary), will be held at CLIFTON COLLEGE, on WEDNESDAY, THURSDAY, and FRIDAY, the 5th, 6th, and 7th of September next. Candidates whose age must not exceed 18 on the day of election (19th September, 1877), must furnish the Trustees with satisfactory evidence of moral character. The successful Candidate must within two weeks after the said 19th September furnish the Trustees with an undertaking in writing forthwith to commence, or continue, his studies at one of the Colleges at Oxford or Cambridge; or at University College, London; Regent's Park College, London; New College, London; or Owen's College, Manchester.

The Scholarship, which is of the annual value of £80, is tenable for four years, but shall be vacated, if the holder thereof shall cease to reside in or study at one of the aforesaid Colleges with due diligence, and to the satisfaction of the Trustees.

In making the Election, the Trustees will give a preference to Candidates born at, or residing at, Coventry, or within five miles thereof.

Papers will be set in the following subjects—viz.:—Greek—Medæa of Euripides; Herodotus, Book vii. Latin—Cicero de Amicitia; Horace Odes, Book i. Latin Prose Composition. Greek and Roman History. Mathematics—Euclid, Books i. to vi. and xi. Arithmetic. Algebra. Plane Trigonometry to the Solution of Triangles. Geometrical Conic Sections. English History. English Language. English Literature (Elizabethan Period, 1580 to 1625). Creasy's English Constitution.

Notice of intention to compete for the Scholarship, together with all necessary certificates, must be forwarded to John F. Norris, Barrister-at-Law, Albion Chambers, Bristol, on or before the 8th August next.

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PHILADELPHIA, 1876.**

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TESTIMONIALS.

From GARTH WILKINSON, Esq., M.D., M.R.C.S.E.

76, Wimpole-street, London, W.,
March, 1874.

F. W. Darlow, Esq.

SIR,—I am able to certify that I have used your Magnetine Appliances pretty largely in my practice, and that in personal convenience to my patients they are unexceptionable, and far superior to any other inventions of the kind which I have employed; and that of their efficacy, their positive powers, I have no doubt. I have found them useful in constipation, in abdominal congestion, in neuralgia, and in many cases involving weakness of the spine, and of the great organs of the abdomen. In the public interest I wish you to use my unqualified testimony in favour of your Magnetine Appliances.

I remain yours faithfully,
GARTH WILKINSON,
M.D., M.R.C.S.E.From the Rev. Dr. KERNAHAN, M.A., Ph.D., F.G.S.
&c.

St. Albans, March 23, 1876.

To Messrs. Darlow and Co.

GENTLEMEN,—I have pleasure in stating that I have derived much benefit from the use of your Magnetic Chest and Throat Protector, which I have been wearing since the close of the year 1874, having adopted it after a severe attack of quinsy, from which I have been ever since happily free. I am also glad to inform you that two ladies of my acquaintance, who had suffered much from bronchial irritation, have experienced much benefit from having a "Protector." I think it right to make you acquainted with these facts, and I give you liberty to use this note as you think proper.—
Yours truly,
JAMES KERNAHAN.

ADDITIONAL TESTIMONIAL FROM GARTH WILKINSON, Esq., M.D., M.R.C.S.

76, Wimpole-street, Cavendish-square, W.,
June 15, 1876.

SIR,—Since March, 1874, when I wrote to you to express my opinion, from experience, of the value of your Magnetic Appliances, I have been frequently asked by letter if my certificate was genuine, and if in the time since elapsed your inventions still approved themselves as beneficial in my practice. To both those questions I can answer by endorsing Magnetine as an arm which I am obliged to resort to in a good many cases.

In addition to the cases I before specified I can now add some experience of the utility of Magnetine in cases of debility, and as a local remedy in painful affections arising in the course of gout. Indeed, I am accustomed to prescribe it wherever topical weakness proceeds from a low vitality in the great nervous centres, or in the principal organs of assimilation, nutrition, and blood purification; also in weak throats from nervous exhaustion affecting the larynx.—I am,
Sir, yours faithfully,
GARTH WILKINSON, M.D., M.R.C.S.E.

From the Rev. HENRY BUDD.

Wesleyan Parsonage, Greyhound, New
Zealand, July 23, 1876.

To Messrs. Darlow & Co.

GENTLEMEN,—It is now about four months since I began to use your Magnetine Throat Band, and I have found great benefit from the use of it. The benefit was immediate, and has continued. The night huskiness, the result of a bronchial attack, has now altogether disappeared.

I am, Gentlemen,
Your obedient servant,
HENRY BUDD.**MAGNETINE.**

Many sufferers have failed to obtain relief from Magnetism from no other cause than that the magnetic power of the articles worn by them has been too feeble to reach the morbid parts. Messrs. Darlow and Co., therefore, in consequence of complaints they are continually receiving, feel it incumbent upon them to warn the public against many appliances made in imitation of the genuine **MAGNETINE** Appliances, but which, on examination, are found to be articles of very inferior manufacture.

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SUPPLEMENT TO THE NONCONFORMIST.

VOL. XXXVIII.—NEW SERIES, No. 1644.

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, MAY 23, 1877.

GRATIS.

THE PEACE SOCIETY.

ANNUAL MEETING IN FINSBURY CHAPEL.

The sixty-first anniversary of the Peace Society was held in Finsbury Chapel, Moorfields, on Tuesday evening. The chair was taken by Henry Pease, Esq. The attendance was scarcely as numerous as usual.

Mr. H. RICHARD, M.P., as secretary of the society, gave a brief outline of the contents of the report, and said that he should ask permission to do what he had never done before, during the nearly thirty years that he had been secretary of the society, and that was at a later stage of the proceedings to make a speech. (Applause.) He should then feel that he was speaking entirely on his own responsibility, and not as the mouthpiece of the committee. He stated that a large number of meetings had been held during the year, amounting in all to 450, at which the peace question was brought in its various aspects before a large body of their countrymen. Valuable work had also been done in connection with the political clubs of London and its neighbourhood. The Workmen's Peace Association continued to render admirable service, especially among their own class, both at home and abroad, and by their organisation were influencing that body which had become of more social and political importance every year. The Ladies' Peace Association also deserved grateful recognition on the part of the committee, because they were endeavouring to interest the sympathies of a class which was, perhaps, of more influence than almost any other—the wives and mothers and daughters of England. Day-schools and Sunday-schools had also been visited, in order to imbue the young mind of the rising generation with correct views on this momentous subject. Altogether the report contained a most interesting record of good work honestly and earnestly done, and when it came into their hands he hoped it would receive a careful and attentive reading.

The Treasurer's report showed a balance in hand from last year of 4967., and subscriptions and donations for the year just expired of 3,313. A balance of 2667. was carried forward to the next account.

The CHAIRMAN said they could see from the brief account just given that no small amount of exertion had been put forth, and effectual assistance given, by able and talented lecturers, and by the circulation of publications calculated to inculcate right views upon this important question. Their operations were conducted at a very moderate outlay, but still the society would be glad of greater support, and could give a very good account of any funds entrusted to them. Those present did not require to be reminded that the Peace Society felt that it was founded upon the highest law which men was permitted to have, a law found in the New Testament. They felt that so momentous was the question of peace or war that every thoughtful Christian was bound to be fully persuaded in his own mind of this, that he was a Christian desiring the true welfare of the whole race of men upon Christian principles, or that he was directly or indirectly lending his influence to hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness. The contrast did not admit of any hesitation in the mind of the Christian as to the view he ought to take if he wished to make his views parallel with those which he found in the New Testament. Although the Eastern Question was perfectly safe in the hands of Mr. Richard, who would presently speak upon it, he (the chairman) wished it to be understood that this society knew nothing as a society of the question between Russia and Turkey; it only knew and believed that there ought to be a brotherhood of the whole of mankind, and that it was its duty to strive for that interchange of feeling and that right feeling between man and man which should lay the foundation for that state of things when it should not be a question of either Jew or Turk or Russian, but of what was good for the great family of mankind at large. (Applause.) Whilst they were in some degree, as it were, temporarily overborne by the din of the disputes that prevailed in the world, they felt that they had therein a stimulus to their renewed action, and that they had a bond and a responsibility which they could not shrink from; that, however little popular their cause might be it was founded upon immutable principles which they dare not forego, but which they must lift their voice to the best of their ability to make them more and more known and appre-

ciated. Those principles involved the happiness of the human race, and those who had any love of liberty, of right rule, of purity, of the doctrine of doing to others as we would that they should do to us, of the higher and nobler principles which should actuate the man who has regard to his Creator and his fellow men, could not hold their voices. Whether they were listened to or not their duty was the same; they must from time to time reiterate their doctrines and report to their supporters how far the society was entitled to their confidence. (Cheers.)

Mr. W. JONES proposed:—

That in view of the recent revelations made tending to show the habitual and systematic oppression practised by the Ottoman Government on its subject population, this meeting cannot but bitterly deplore the support so long given by the successive Governments of this country to the Turkish Empire. That it protests against all efforts to draw the nation, on any pretext whatever, into war for its further defence, and repudiates utterly the assumption that Great Britain has any true interest that can be lastingly subserved by alliance with a cruel and immoral despotism, which blights as with a curse all the lands over which it exercises sway.

He said his recent visit to Turkey was not as an agent of the Bulgarian Relief Fund. His object had been to pay a visit of sympathy and assistance to his friend, Mr. James Long, with whom he was associated in the relief of France after the Franco-German war. Mr. Long had returned to Bulgaria in the hope that he would be able to secure protection for the buildings which he had erected there, if the tide of war rolled in that direction. He did not quite share the sanguine hopes of Mr. Long, for his experience told him that war knew no laws whatever. Every precaution had, however, been taken by Mr. Long in order to place his buildings under proper protection. The freeholds had been purchased and registered in the name of a British subject. Mr. Long had set about rebuilding the villages around Tatar Bazardjik, and twenty of those villages had now been rebuilt. This work could not be done without a large amount of labour, and accordingly women and children were impressed into the service in every possible way, and were duly paid for their labour. Mr. Long's maxim was, "Nothing for nothing," and therefore no eleemosynary aid was given in any case. The result of this work was that the head of the Bulgarian Church had told him that in one village he had celebrated no less than 172 marriages amongst that miserable population, and it was generally considered that among the lower classes of the population marriage was a sign of prosperity. Without wishing to depreciate the work of others, he could not help looking at the work of Mr. Long as emphatically the greatest work of relief in Bulgaria, the moral effect of which would be incalculable in the course of time. At first the people looked upon him with the utmost suspicion, being totally unaccustomed to acts of disinterested benevolence. The people had been so long oppressed, cowed down, and tyrannised over, that they viewed with distrust any man who attempted to do them a kindness. Happily, Mr. Long had lived down that prejudice, and was now looked upon, both by governors and governed, as a peacemaker. (Applause.) In addition to the twenty villages rebuilt, which included shelter for about 600 of the families in Bulgaria, he had rebuilt twenty-two schools, containing from seventy-five to one hundred children. He had also employed his whole staff in the distribution of seed-corn, a thing of the utmost necessity for their future sustenance. Seed-corn had been distributed among about 10,000 families, besides which an enormous amount of clothing had been given away. When he (Mr. Jones) first visited the Bulgarian villages, he had a feeling of disappointment. The people were certainly lower in the scale of population than anything he had seen, and the absence of personal cleanliness and even decency was very discouraging. But the conclusion to which he arrived, was that the condition of the Bulgarian population was the very strongest indictment that could be brought against those who were responsible for their position. Formerly the Bulgarians were a warlike horde, holding Constantinople and the Roman legions in terror; but their natures had been changed by centuries of oppression, tyranny, and cruelty. They were peaceful, laborious, and industrious, most anxious to obtain schools, and willing to be taxed to pay for them. In many places they were engaged more or less in manufactures, and in others they were engaged in the manufacture of the attar of roses so largely exported from Turkey. He had found some of them who took an intelligent interest in foreign affairs, and not a few of them knew and revered the name of Mr. Gladstone. (Loud applause.) They were fond of education and willing to pay for it, and were devoted to peaceful and industrious and skilled pursuits almost to a man; and were these people to whom self-government should be denied? (Applause.) If the Bulgarians were not to be trusted with self-government, were the Turks more fit to be entrusted? He thought they would come to the conclusion, before he concluded his

remarks, that they were not. (Hear, hear.) He had been asked to speak more particularly to the fact that the Government of Turkey had been cruel and immoral, and that it blighted as with a curse the land over which it exercised sway. He mentioned that he had visited the town of Batak, which lay entirely out of the region of Mr. Long's labours, and therefore could not be visited by him. He visited it at a season of the year when it was extremely difficult of access. Although it was a place of trade, there were no roads. He visited the church where the massacres occurred that had been described by Mr. MacGahan of the *Daily News*, Mr. Schuyler, and subsequently by their own official and accredited agent, Mr. W. Baring. (Applause.) They all reported that from 1,000 to 1,200 bodies of women and children were lying in the church at one time. He was accompanied by a Turkish constable, in whose presence the Bulgarians were afraid to say anything, and his chief informant was a young man, the son of the schoolmaster who was so cruelly massacred in the school building opposite the church. This young man had told him that he had lain on a pile of bodies some seven or eight deep before he could get released from the church, himself and an old woman being the only survivors. He dared not recite before such an audience the terrible process by which this young man's father died. He also learned that the priest of the village was roasted alive. These facts he had from men who were eye-witnesses, who were conversant with the facts, and who were trustworthy and reliable. He asked also to be taken to the spot where lay the heads and the bodies of the young ladies of Batak. The bodies had been interred, and the snow lay on the ground a yard deep; but when he looked across the narrow valley to the primeval forest that lay beyond and observed the extreme silence that reigned around he realised the plaintive language of the prophet when he said, "The voice of gladness and the voice of mirth; the voice of the bridegroom and the voice of the bride have ceased from that land; for the whole of the land was desolate." He would not describe what those young ladies had suffered; but they had suffered all that young women could suffer at the hands of the most licentious soldiery the world ever saw. He was bound to make a correction in the reports of the three gentlemen who had reported as to the numbers massacred. They described the number as something like 5,000, and some put them higher than that; but subsequent events showed that some of these people escaped and were alive, and that the actual number massacred did not amount to more than 2,000. This, however, did not diminish by one iota the actual cruelty and atrocity that had been exercised throughout. (Hear, hear.) There was nothing that gave even a Red Indian such a savage delight as the shrieks and writhings of his victims when he was inflicting torture upon him; and that was the case in Batak. There was not the slightest pretence for saying that there was an insurrection in Batak. Would any man pretend to say that the poor young women who were massacred were implicated in such insurrection? It was an absurdity on the face of it. In various parts of Turkey he passed continually the old and neglected Turkish cemeteries; they had no villages and no habitations near them, and in many cases the land was out of cultivation. From what he observed, it was obvious that the Moslem population was dying out, while the Bulgarian population was increasing. This fact he looked upon with rejoicing. He contended, in conclusion, that it was every one's duty to use his personal and political influence wherever he could to help the country out of such a direful and terrible war. (Applause.)

The Rev. Dr. EDMOND seconded the resolution. He said he could not say that England had always escaped guilt and shame in connection with this question. During the last eighteen months or so, they had had, first through their Government, the expression openly of a certain measure of moral sympathy and support towards the Ottoman Government, and then, when that was rebuked, a certain latent sympathy that was perhaps equally effective, and he was not sure that it had been quite withdrawn. Perhaps he might more strongly state it, and say boldly that it had not been quite withdrawn, and this in view of two facts: the first was the fact of Lord Derby's answer to the Russian Circular, which unquestionably was accepted at Constantinople as a most gratifying expression of the yet unsubdued friendship of England for Turkey; and the other fact that, after the outbreak of the Conference and the withdrawal of the ambassadors, leaving only second-class representatives at the Ottoman Porte, England was the first and alone to hasten to repair the breach and make up for this withdrawal by sending an acceptable first-class ambassador back to Constantinople—the interpretation of which, to his mind, was simply this, that the English Cabinet though they joined in the Conference, and joined in the expression of disapprobation at the refusal of the proposals of the Conference, really did not mean it. (Applause.) One was disposed to think of a scene in the play which formed an

interlude in the *Midsummer Night's Dream*. There was a play enacted in the presence of the dignitaries of Athens for their amusement, in which a number of humble persons enact certain parts, and amongst others Snug the Joiner was to enact the part of a lion. With very commendable care, not to hurt the feelings of the ladies that were spectators, he beforehand explains that the lion was no veritable lion, that it was simply Snug the Joiner. (Laughter.) And so it was quite true the British lion did roar quite well through a certain despatch sent by Lord Derby last December, and did roar right well and honestly too, as he believed, through the voice of Lord Salisbury in conference; but then, unfortunately, there was another voice that seemed to say, "It is no roaring lion after all, it means nothing very serious." (Laughter.) So the Turks might say, in the language of one of the spectators of that play, "Gentle beast, and of good conscience." (Laughter.) He did not think, therefore, that they had quite escaped the shame of guilt and complicity morally in the misdoings of the Government, and they have not yet quite escaped the peril, if not of material assistance directly given, yet of really material support which meant the expenditure of human blood and treasure in an indirect way, therefore it became the whole country to stand in the attitude of keen-eyed vigilance. He would not say that so long as the Conservatives were in power this vigilance must be with equal keenness exercised, but he would say this, so long as the Conservative party were content to be ignobly led by their present political chief. (Cries of "Oh, oh," and cheers.) He counted the Premiership of Lord Beaconsfield to be nothing less than a national calamity. ("Hear, hear," and cheers, and cries of "No, no.") At all events, so long as the present Government, constituted in its present way, was in power, and dealing with this momentous Eastern Question, there was no safety but in the sleepless vigilance of patriotic and Christian citizens. (Applause.) He rejoiced very greatly in the grand prospective gathering that on Thursday evening next week would fill Bingley Hall in Birmingham, and would send forth a voice of no uncertain sound, which he hoped would be echoed loudly from every part of the great British Empire. (A Voice: "I thought this was to be a peace meeting.") I do not know anything more pacific than public opinion. (Applause.) ("If this is to go on I will retire. I came here to hear about peace.") He wished to draw attention especially to the expression in the resolution, "recent revelations." The horrible atrocities of last May might be fading away in the dim past, but the Ottoman Government had taken good care that they should not be forgotten by continuing on perhaps a lesser scale similar outrages, and as an emphatic illustration of this there was the letter of Miss Irby, sent to the public papers by Mr. Gladstone. That was a revelation of a character so horrible that, like some others, it could not be described in a public meeting. Another pregnant expression in the resolution was that which deplored the support so long given by the successive Governments of this country to the Turkish Empire. He did not complain of the present Government as having introduced a new policy, but because they were so slow to forsake the old. With the Governments, of course, the people must share the blame. He was ready to say for himself that many years ago he believed the Crimean War to be a righteous defence of the weak assailed against the assailing strong. He did so in the ignorance of the hour, but "The times of this ignorance God winked at, but now commandeth men everywhere to repent." (Applause.) The resolution alluded to the "Turkish Empire," but Turkey was not a nation—it was simply an armed horde, camped upon ground that never was their own. Any war that would tend to bolster-up this effete and wicked Power would be a most wicked war, and would brand with everlasting disgrace the country that undertook it. What was England that she should stop the highway of the great sea that God had made for all his creatures? what was England that she should claim the supremacy there? He believed it would be a safe principle for nations to act upon, as well as individuals, "Who is he that will hurt you if ye be followers of that which is good?" (Applause.)

Mr. ROBINSON, a working man, wished to propose the following amendment:—"That it is the opinion of this meeting that no body of men has struggled more to preserve the peace of Europe than Her Majesty's Ministers."

The reading of the amendment was received with great disapprobation, and the chairman was unable to obtain a hearing for Mr. Robinson, who was obliged ultimately to desist from his attempt to speak.

The CHAIRMAN explained that the resolution had no reference to the conduct of Her Majesty's Ministers, and it was not intended that that should be a subject of discussion. The next resolution contained a recognition of the efforts made by the Government of this country to preserve peace, and would perhaps meet Mr. Robinson's views.

The amendment was thereupon withdrawn.

Mr. HENRY RICHARD, M.P., who was received with cheers, moved the second resolution as follows:—

That this meeting, while deploring the outbreak of war in the East of Europe, cannot but recognise in gratitude the strenuous efforts which were so long made by

our own and other Governments to preserve European peace, while it bails with sincere satisfaction the declaration of Her Majesty's Government that the policy of this country is to be one of strict and absolute neutrality as respects the present conflict.

He said he was very anxious that they as members of the Peace Society should maintain their consistency through the difficult and trying circumstances by which they were surrounded. That was their strength. They could not pretend to be a great part of the nation, they could not pretend to be a numerous and powerful party; but they had acquired a certain amount of respect and influence in the community, because it was seen that up to the present time they had acted up to their convictions, and through good and evil report had been firm and faithful to their principles. And certainly, in looking back at the past, they had no cause to regret the course they had taken in that respect; for in almost every circumstance in which they had unfortunately been at variance with the majority of their countrymen, events were proving, and history would record, that substantially they were in the right. They set themselves to resist that series of senseless and cowardly panics of French invasion by which their countrymen had been agitated at different times for the last twenty-five or thirty years; and now those who were among the most active promoters of those panics were really ashamed of themselves, and did not like to have the subject mentioned. In 1857 they backed Mr. Cobden, when, in the House of Commons, he proposed his resolutions condemning and denouncing the war that was waged upon the Chinese. The opinion of the country was in the opposite direction, and at the next general election ostracised from Parliament some of its best members, including Mr. Cobden, Mr. Bright, Mr. Milner Gibson, and Mr. Miall. He thought it would be very difficult at the present time to find three men in the kingdom who would undertake to defend that war on any principle of international law. At the time of the Crimean war they set themselves in opposition to the opinion of the country, but not one of them would regret the action they took on that occasion. Men who clamoured most loudly for that war, and branded the members of the Peace Society with opprobrious names, were now coming over in shoals to the other side, and acknowledging the members of the Peace Society to have been in the right, and that British blood and treasure ought never to have been spent in upholding Turkish oppression in the East. He wished to take this opportunity of doing justice to three gentlemen who, in connection with the Russian war, had been the objects of most unjust reproach. It would be remembered that three members of the Society of Friends—Mr. Joseph Sturge (of Birmingham), Mr. Robert Charlton (of Bristol), and their honoured Chairman—(applause)—went on a mission from their religious body to the Emperor of Russia—as noble and heroic a mission as ever was undertaken by man. It was asserted in the House of Commons the other day by no less a person than Mr. Roebuck—(laughter)—that those three Friends were the cause of the Russian war; and the preposterous allegation had been made again and again. He would simply call attention to a few dates which he thought would be sufficient to refute those absurd allegations. The war between Russia and Turkey had broken out many weeks before the mission was undertaken. The deputation from the Friends to the Emperor was on the 10th of February, 1854. Mr. Kingslake stated in his History of the War that on Oct. 23, 1853, the Sultan was placed in a state of war with the Emperor of Russia. And in vindicating Russia from the charge of commencing the war, the same historian stated that the Turks had begun war some time before the Government of St. Petersburg had received intelligence, not only that active warfare was going on in the valley of the Lower Danube, but that the Turks had seized the Russian forts on the borders of the Euxine, and were attempting to attack the Armenian frontier. They had been placed, during the last few months, between two fires. They had had to hold the balance evenly against two opposite impulses, each of which was fighting in one direction for a general war. There was a small party in the House of Commons, sitting on the same side of the House as he did himself, that had been trying to impel the country and the Government, and especially the Liberal party, into a policy of coercion in regard to Turkey. They were not a numerous party, but they had acquired a certain importance on account of the great ability of some of its members, as well as their remarkable power of self-assertion. (Hear, hear.) Coercion meant war, and if we went to war in order to prevent going to war was very much like committing suicide in order to avoid death. (Laughter.) He did not believe that by letting loose the dogs of war, and by giving licence to rapine and slaughter and violence—for these were the ministers of war—could the interests of humanity be subserved. (Applause.) It was indeed a very singular thing that some of his countrymen were so inclined to fighting that even their philanthropy became bellicose. (Laughter.) Samuel Rogers, the poet, when satirising the passion of his countrymen for field sports, said, that if two Englishmen could be overheard speaking to each other they might be heard to say, "It is a beautiful day to-day; let us go and kill

something." (Laughter.) So he found some of his political friends, when their hearts were touched with benevolence, and moved with pity and compassion for the suffering, saying, "Let us go and kill somebody." He did not believe that inhumanity on the part of the Turks, or anybody else, could be remedied by inflicting inhumanity ourselves. (Loud applause.) Talk about atrocities! He held that war itself was a gigantic atrocity. (Applause.) In Bulgaria and elsewhere, villages had been burned down, and men and women and children had been slaughtered. Innocent people had been deprived of their means of subsistence, and turned out naked and shelterless to perish with cold and famine. He asked, was there ever a war waged on the face of the earth in which all these things had not been done?—(Hear, hear)—and it seemed an odd way of remedying the evils that were deplored by giving ourselves to commit similar evils. (Applause.) He was very happy to see that the party he had referred to in the House of Commons had not succeeded. (Applause.) They thought at one time that Mr. Gladstone was to be their leader; and, speaking with all frankness, the resolutions which had been put upon the table of the House as they originally stood, pointed, in his opinion, in the direction of war; and therefore he was one of those, honouring and reverencing Mr. Gladstone as much as anyone in the country, who found himself unable on that occasion to follow his lead; but he, wisely and generously seeing that there were persons whom he respected and knew, and who loved and trusted and honoured him, withdrew those resolutions, and put in their stead resolutions which every man who was in favour of peace could vote for with his whole heart. (Applause.) For his own part, he found it difficult to give an adequate expression to his sense of gratitude and admiration for the great services which Mr. Gladstone had rendered—(applause and hisses)—to the cause of justice and humanity. He had seen with something like indignation and disgust, the violent, the bitter, the base attacks that had been made upon Mr. Gladstone. (Shame.) But he would survive these. (Applause.) The splendid genius and the splendid services he had rendered to his country would ensure that his memory would be held in grateful and honourable remembrance by his countrymen long after the crowd of pigmies—(laughter and loud applause)—that were trying to pull him from his eminence had been swept away into utter and merited oblivion. (Applause.) He could, to some extent, understand the feeling of Mr. Gladstone on this matter. It should be remembered that he was one of the few surviving members of the Government that made the Crimean war; and it was rather a remarkable fact that several of the members of that Government, before they died, expressed their deep sorrow and regret that they had any part in it whatever. Mr. Cobden, in a letter written towards the latter part of the year 1856, said, "I have lately met Lord Aberdeen at the house of my neighbour, the Bishop of Oxford; and, as I was walking with him through the grounds of the bishop, he opened his heart to me about the Crimean war, and he said that it was a matter of perpetual regret to him that he allowed himself to be driven into it. 'I ought to have resigned,' he said. (Hear, hear.) Sir James Graham had said to Mr. Bright a few years after that war, 'Mr. Bright, you are perfectly right about the war, and we were wrong, we ought never to have gone into it'—(Hear, hear)—and Lord Russell—(applause)—in a work he published some three years ago, also frankly acknowledged that it was a mistake and a blunder to go into the Crimean war. It could therefore be imagined what a man like Mr. Gladstone, with such a sensitive nature, with a conscience enlightened by strong religious convictions, must feel in looking back at the fact that he himself took part in a war, the only manifest result and effect of which had been to perpetuate Turkish domination in Europe, and to rivet upon the neck of the groaning and suffering Christians of those provinces the yoke of oppression, which neither they nor their fathers were able to bear. It could well be understood how he felt impelled, if possible, to undo something of the evil that was done by lifting up his powerful and eloquent voice against this country being ever again committed to uphold the Turk. (Applause.) But if we could not fight against the Turk, could we fight for him? (No, no.) God forbid. One of the most extraordinary things he ever knew was to find some kind-hearted, generous, humane, Christian gentlemen, such as were to be found in the House of Commons, taking up the cause of the Turks in the face of all the revelations that had been made of the infamies and abominations of which they had been guilty. (Hear, hear.) Dr. Edmond had made an allusion to the *Midsummer Night's Dream*. He (Mr. Richard) would venture to make an allusion to the same play. They would remember how Oberon, the King of the Fairies, when he had fallen out with his queen Titania, took his revenge. The fairy attendants took the juice of a particular thorn, the effect of which was that if it was pressed into the eyes of one asleep, when he awoke he would be so under a delusion that whatever object he saw on waking he would fall passionately in love with it; and so poor Titania found herself when she awoke passionately enamoured of Billy Bottom the Weaver, with his ass's head. (Laughter.) It did seem as though somebody had put some of this juice into the eyelids of some of their friends in this country, but it was

not an ass's head but a tiger's head that they had fallen in love with. (Applause.) But the question was, were they to submit, under any circumstances, or on any pretext, to enter into alliance again with Turkey—were they to submit to the infamy of having their countrymen go forth to clasp hands with the murderers, with the ravishers and the butchers of Batak on any pretext? A war against Russia would be a war for Turkey. (Hear, hear.) They must be on their guard against that. He had no interest in defending Russia, he had not known more than two or three Russians in his life, but when he remembered what took place in 1853 and 1854; when he called to mind the violent unreasoning prejudice by which they were hurried into a war which involved the destruction of a million of human lives, and 315,000,000 of treasure, and an amount of suffering and misery and demoralisation which no arithmetic could calculate; and when he remembered that all this was brought about by exaggeration about Russia, the people of this country ought to be on their guard that they were not again led away by similar exaggeration. (Hear, hear.) He had read with care the Blue Books with regard to this Eastern question, and his conviction was Russia had behaved well in this matter throughout. (Applause.) She had shown great moderation; she had shown a willingness to follow the lead of England in every instance. (Applause.) And when Lord Derby, after he had rejected the Berlin Memorandum proposed by the Russian Government, proposed a plan of his own, the Russian Government instantly acceded to it; and when they went to the Conference at Constantinople, they consented to give up one point after another, until the very last minimum of demand was left in order to preserve peace. And remember that letter sent by the Emperor of Russia of his own mere will—an appeal to the kindly feeling of the English people, in which he pledged his honour as a gentleman and an emperor that he had cherished none of those aggressive and ambitious designs that were ascribed to him. They were bound to accept that frank declaration. (Applause.) Russia, no doubt, had many things to answer for—(Hear, hear)—as every nation had many things in its past history to answer for, but do not let them be deluded by exaggerated charges against Russia into entering into an alliance with Turkey, for he repeated again and again, whatever was the pretext, a war against Russia was a war in defence of Turkish barbarism. (Applause.) What he wanted was that they should maintain strict neutrality. He did not wish to go and fight against the Turks, because he did not believe any good came out of fighting. He did not want to fight for them. He was satisfied with the declaration made by Mr. Cross in the House of Commons—if they could only hold the Government to that, he should be quite satisfied for one—that was that the policy of this country was to be a policy of strict neutrality. (Applause.) Let them stand aside from the fray, doing all they could to localise and minimise the conflict, holding themselves in readiness to step forward at the earliest possible moment to present their offers of service as peacemakers and mediators to bring about an armistice. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. PROSSER seconded the resolution. He said the annual meeting of the society was this year held at the most opportune time, when it was eminently desirable that its principles should be enforced and its influence brought to bear upon the Government and the nation. There was reason to fear that circumstances might occur that would cause England to be driven into war unless public opinion made itself felt, and the principles of this society obtained throughout the land. Perhaps the danger was not so imminent now as it was a little while ago; for whatever might be the opinion as to the merits of the course pursued by Mr. Gladstone, the debate upon his resolutions had evoked such an expression from the Government, and showed so plainly the opinion of the country as to very much strengthen the hands of the friends of peace. It was strange that there was this eagerness for strife in nations that were professedly Christian. Was it not sad to think that nearly nineteen centuries after the birth of Christ, whenever there was a little provocation, the only remedy thought of by some was to draw the sword from its scabbard? Was this not a proof that the lessons of the Great Master had been learnt but slowly, if at all? The mighty armaments and military establishments of Europe had very much to answer for as the cause of war. "Of the means to do ill deeds makes ill deeds done." These great establishments should be put down by the united force of civilised public opinion. (Applause.) It was true that England was not so guilty as some other nations, but who could think of 27,000,000 of desecrated every year to the maintenance of an army and a navy without a blush of shame mantling the cheek? Citizens were not allowed to carry firearms, and why should nations? (Applause.) One of the great scientists of the age had said that duelling involved the double crime of suicide and of murder. If that were true of duelling between man and man, was it not also true of combat between nation and nation? If, when the tide of passion and prejudice had subsided, the men who were now prepared for conflict were sent to pursue purposes of peaceful industry, it would bear fruit a hundredfold in the years to come. (Applause.) The only hope was in public opinion. It was very little good appealing to ministries or Parliaments unless through the force

of public opinion. Absolute neutrality was now the duty and interest of England. "British interests," of which so much was now heard, was a most vague, elastic, and dangerous phrase. In one sense British interests were touched wherever a disturbance took place, and if an excuse was required at any time for going to war, "British interests" would supply it if there was a little prejudice and passion behind. No British interest could justify England's entering into this war. It was at once the policy and duty of England to endeavour to limit the arena in war of conflict between the two nations now involved, and to strive, when a fitting opportunity arose, to introduce an element of accord between the conflicting Powers. He believed that the providence of God intended ere long that the Turkish Empire should come to naught. Heaven forbid that by the shedding of a single drop of English blood, or by the desecration of a single pound of English gold, England should do anything to prevent that catastrophe. (Applause.) They must stand aside and strive in the interests of peace and humanity to do what they could for the good of man as man, until the end should come, when the nations of the earth should be left free to pursue their avocations of industry and true progress, and then the principles of the Peace Society would have a greater chance of being enforced. (Applause.)

The resolution was agreed to.

Mr. BOTTOMLEY FIRTH, member of the London School Board, moved:—

That the friends of peace in all countries, instead of being discouraged, should find in recent events fresh inducements to renew their exertions for the establishment of some better means of settling disputes between nations than an appeal to the sword, and for the reduction of those enormous armaments, which, far from tending to preserve peace, are a constant provocation to war.

In doing so, he said it was quite true that in the late debate the war party had for the moment been cowed, but their determination remained the same. They would do their utmost to embroil England in war. The debate, however, marked a turning-point in the relations of this country with the East, and the Government could only rely on a majority so long as they preserved a policy of strict neutrality. If the Peace Society was to advance the principles of peace in this country, it must be by maturing public opinion. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. W. R. CREMER, secretary of the Workmen's Peace Association, seconded the resolution. He said the opinions of working men on the present crisis, and on the principles advocated by that society, were found embodied in an address which was now being circulated amongst 4,000 organised bodies of working men. That address declared it to be not only the duty but the interest of the working men of the United Kingdom to demand that the Government should maintain absolute neutrality during the struggle which was taking place. He criticised the conduct of the Government in sending Mr. Layard to Constantinople in the face of the attitude of the Turkish Government, and contended that the Turks should have been held to be outside the pale of civilisation, and to be barbarians until they treated their subjects with justice. If such a plan had been adopted at an earlier stage, the Workmen's Association believed that Turkey would have adopted a different course to the one she was now pursuing. He believed they had great cause to congratulate themselves on the present state of public opinion on this question.

A cordial vote of thanks to the chairman brought the meeting to a close.

GEORGE STREET CHAPEL, CROYDON.

The successful labours of the Rev. N. L. Parkyn, the minister of George-street Congregational Chapel, Croydon, have necessitated increased accommodation. The present place of worship was erected in 1842. It is inadequate for the wants of the neighbourhood, and a new chapel is to be erected which will provide for 800 persons on the ground-floor, and 200 in an end gallery. The plan embraces the ultimate construction of a lofty tower—but only such parts will be now made as can be utilised—a spacious schoolroom (to be also used as a lecture-hall) and eleven class-rooms, affording facilities for the instruction of between 1,000 and 1,100 children. A superintendent's and secretary's room, library, vestries, ladies' Dorcas-room, retiring-room, kitchen, &c., are also to be provided. The amount of the contract is 7,895*l.*, but the purchase of additional freeholds and other items of expenditure make up an estimated total of 10,336*l.* Towards this sum, 4,640*l.*, including 888*l.*, the net proceeds of a bazaar, had been subscribed, and the London Congregational Chapel Building Society had granted a loan of 500*l.*, leaving 5,195*l.* to be provided. The memorial stone was laid on Tuesday last by James Spicer, Esq., J.P., in the presence of a numerous company of interested spectators. After devotional exercises, in which the Revs. R. Tuck, W. Clarkson, and N. Parkyn (the father of the pastor,) took part, the Rev. N. L. Parkyn gave a brief history of the church, and read a list of the contents of the bottle which was to be placed in the cavity of the stone. Mr. Parkyn then presented a silver trowel to Mr. Spicer, who in due form went through the ceremony of laying the stone, and delivered a suitable address. Subsequently some thirty-three purses were laid upon the stone, containing about 78*l.* At the luncheon which subsequently took place at the Public Lecture Hall,

Mr. Spicer presided, and expressed a hope that the debt might that day be reduced to 4,000*l.*, offering a donation of 200*l.* by way of example. Addresses were delivered by the Revs. G. S. Barrett, of Norwich, J. G. Rogers, B.A., of Clapham, Dr. Aveling, and P. J. Turquand, expressing sympathy with the object, and of the value of the work carried on at George-street Chapel by Mr. Parkyn. Mr. Johns, on behalf of the pastor and congregation, expressed their great obligations to Mr. Spicer for the services which he had rendered to them that day. Unlike what was witnessed in the case of some other wealthy Nonconformists, he rejoiced to find Mr. Spicer's sons coming forward as Nonconformists and Congregationalists ready to take their stand in the forefront of battle. This was seconded by the Rev. N. L. Parkyn, and carried with acclamation. A vote of thanks to the several speakers brought the proceedings to a close. In the evening there was a well-attended public meeting in the same building, J. Spencer Balfour, Esq., presiding, who expressed his gratification that they had resolved to erect a handsome edifice, which would be an ornament to the town. Addresses were delivered by the Revs. C. B. Symes, and Henry Batchelor, of Blackheath; the latter of whom said he looked forward to the time when the various denominations would be universally regarded as so many different coloured rays, which should be blended in the pure white ray of Christian charity. Much was said about taking the Gospel to the masses, but the Gospel was needed as much by men of refinement and culture as by the neglected and ignorant. A vote of thanks to the Chairman brought the meeting to a close. The total sum contributed to the building fund during the day amounted to 1,200*l.*

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